

The Pseudonym

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

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AS 10 MAY 1573 was Whitsunday, and the letter to William Cecil from "Willm Ffaunt [and] John Wotton" concerning events the day before, was dated Thursday, the date of the ambush in May on the road from Gravesend to Rochester was either the 6th, 13th, 20th or 27th.

As Rudolph Fiehler points out (although he had not realized that the 20th of May 1573 was indeed a Wednesday), a similar episode in *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* bears what he considered a roughly corresponding date: "I indite thee by the name of Cuthbert Cutter for robbing a poor carrier the 20th [day] of May last past in the fourteen yeare of the raigne of our soueraigne lord King Henry the Fourth for setting upon a poore carrier vpon Gad's Hill, [in Kent] and having beaten and wounded the said carrier, and taken his goods from him." [scene iv] The coincidence of the date of May 20th is curious, and could well be taken as proof of a connection between the complaint of Burghley's servants and the episode in the play. Ward noted that since Henry iv claimed the crown in August 1399 upon abdication of Richard II and died in April of 1413, he did not live to see the 20th of May in the fourteenth year of his reign, but that May 20th, 1573 was in the fourteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth." [*The Great Shakespeare Whodunit*, p17]

According to Seymour Pitcher "[i]t was John Stow (1580) who first gave currency to the narratives out of which the playwright of *The Famous Victories* contrived the robbery at Gad's Hill and the rioting in Eastcheap. Stow's version of the former event was as follows:

Whilst his [Prince Henry's] father lived, being accompanied with some of his young lords and gentlemen, he would wait in disguised array for his own receivers, and distress them of their money. And sometimes at such enterprises both he and his company were surely beaten. And when his receivers made to him their complaints, how they were robbed in their coming unto him, he would give them discharge of so much money as they had lost. And besides that they should not depart from him without great rewards for their trouble and vexation; especially they should be rewarded that had best resisted him and his company, and of whom he had received the greatest and most strokes. But after the decease of his father there was never any youth or wildness might have place in him, but all his acts were suddenly changed into gravity and discretion. (Stow, pp582/3)

"It will be seen that Stow does not, in fact, give an account of robbery at all [*fr*, Solly-Flood, p130, as historian, points out that *The Famous Victories* is "the very first work in which Prince Henry is said to have been engaged in any criminal enterprise whatever, or to have associated with thieves or buffoons"]. To amuse himself and to try their mettle, he says, the Prince waylaid not the King's taxgatherers, as in *The Famous Victories* and, presumably, in 1 *Henry IV*, but his own. He displayed no finical misgivings about his conduct. On occasion he took a good blow for the fun of it. In the end he magnanimously overlooked his servants' losing their charge and returned their moneys. He was a sporting figure who acknowledged the dictates of *noblesse oblige*." [*The Case for Shakespeare's Authorship of The Famous Victories*, pp86/7]

Thus an event in the life of Edward de Vere SEVENTEENTH EARL OF OXFORD coincides to the precise day (Wednesday 20 May 1573) with an identical event in the play *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (1586; registered 14 May 1594 though not printed until 1598). Events moreover which occurred in the fourteenth year of the respective reigns of the corresponding monarchs.

During the two years since his wedding (19 December 1571) Edward de Vere had (1572): composed a Latin preface to Bartholomew Clerke's translation of *The Courtier* (5 January); attended the trial (16 January) and execution (2 June) of his dear cousin Thomas Howard FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK; mounted a display of artillery in St James's Park (behind Whitehall) as part of the ceremonies for installation of the Duc of Montmorenci as Knight of the Garter (18 June); joined the Queen in progress visiting Theobalds (17–22 July) and Warwick Castle (12 August) where he mounted a mock siege with Fulke Greville; and returned to his estate at Wivenhoe (31 October). This year also introduced the royal stricture against players who were not noble retainers (3 January) which resulted in the city licence of the company of Henry Neville (1520–86) Fourth Lord Abergavenny (29 January) and ultimately the first royal patent, for Leicester's troupe (7 May 1574). The next year (1573) we find him over £10 in arrears of half rent for two tenements at the Savoy; publishing Thomas Bedingfield's translation of *Cardanus Comforte* and the first of the Elizabethan anthologies *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres*; while flourishing in the Queen's favour above all other courtiers (according to Gilbert Talbot's letter of 11 May). Entertaining the theory put forward by Percy Allen that a changeling born to the Queen and Edward de Vere (late June 1574) took the place of Henry Wriothesley THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (who had been born 6 October 1573), it would follow that conception occurred late September 1573.

Clearly Edward de Vere was energetically predisposed to life at Court and to literature during the years immediately following his marriage. The consolidation of acting troupes at this juncture combined with his employment in staging the displays at St James's Park and Warwick Castle, support the speculation that he was already actively involved in

theatre at Court. Which may explain the remarkable recurrence in *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* of the precise date of the robbery at Gad's Hill – 20 May [1573] – a date the author would have been far less likely to recollect thirteen years after the event, if the play were initially composed in 1586.

It bears emphasizing that the character of the Earl of Oxford appears in this play both as adviser to the King and as narrative foil (representing the authority of the state and the play with comparable equanimity). Only two other plays by Shakespeare incorporate the Earl of Oxford as a character: *Richard III* and *Henry VI PART III*. Yet as Pitcher shows, his role in *The Famous Victories* is not that assigned to Richard de Vere ELEVENTH EARL OF OXFORD in the chronicle accounts of the Battle of Agincourt. Further liberties in the play compel Pitcher to concur with B. M. Ward (who he claims was "not, by the way, an Oxfordian") on the likelihood that Edward de Vere is the Earl of Oxford alluded to.

Pitcher also inclines to the belief that the grant received by Oxford (June 1586) was intended "for the first organized propaganda....In point of fact and time, a spate of chronicle plays did follow the authorization of the stipend. Is it not conceivable that they were produced with such subsidy? *The Famous Victories* may have been one of the first plays – perhaps the very first – commissioned for the Queen's men under this policy. If so, we should better understand its patriotic zeal and its emphatic recommendation of an ancestor of Edward de Vere to the public." [*op cit*, pp186/7]

He goes on to support this speculation by pointing out that the author had omitted from the play "(besides Exeter) Beaumont, Fanhope, and Suffolk; all four names were extinct in the contemporary peerage. He retained from Hall (apart from royalty) only Oxford and Willoughby; great lords lived who bore these names. He added Derby, Kent, Nottingham, Huntingdon, and Northumberland, quite unhistorical at Agincourt but immediately recognizable as Elizabethan personages." [*op cit*, pp184] They were all, moreover, commissioners at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (14–25 October 1586) – all, that is, but Henry Hastings THIRD EARL OF HUNTINGDON who considered himself her rival as a potential heir to the throne. Thus Pitcher's dating of the play (as printed) to shortly after the trial.

The reference in John Stow's *Chronicles of England* to Prince Henry in "disguised array" – further manifested in the opening scene of *The Famous Victories* – isolates the phenomenon which arguably posed the need for the pseudonym 'William Shakespeare' adopted by Edward de Vere. Cognomens such as Master Apis Lapis, Euphues, Ignoto, William Monox, Pasquill, Pierce Pennilesse and St Fame were obviously invoked purely as literary personæ – a standard beneath which compositions in circulation might be marshalled with identifiable precepts or affinities. Ignoto, while signifying 'unknown person', incorporates the sense of 'overlook, forgive or pardon [the author]' (*ignosco*), with overtones of

'ignoble' or 'obscure' (*ignotus*). 'William Shakespeare' also preserves this facility of a literal cognomen ('will' as bard; spear-shaker as knight, gallant or courtier – while incorporating the pun on 'shakes-peer'), yet accommodates use also as a pseudonym. The signal difference resides in the plausibility of the pseudonym as a proper name.

References to William Shakespeare as an actor with the Chamberlain's Men, augmented by the antecedent of Prince Hal's "disguised array", lead me to speculate that the need for the pseudonym arose at least in part, from Edward de Vere's contumacious inclination to participate in the public performances of his plays. The character he assumed – in "disguised array" – was that of a hanger-on from Warwickshire who appears, sometime after the birth of his second and third children – twins Hamnet and Judith (2 February 1585) – to have followed one of the provincial troupes of players back to London. According to Chambers, troupes such as those of Derby, Hunsdon, Leicester, Oxford and Sussex were relegated to playing largely in the provinces following the creation of the Queen's Men (28 November 1583). [*William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* VOL I, p32] Yet, if the annual pension granted by Dormant Privy Seal to Edward de Vere (26 June 1586) were intended to support the development of propaganda plays for a subsidized public theatre, the need for additional companies in London would readily have drawn the nether troupes back from their comparably arduous tours of the hinterland.

William Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon arguably arrived in London sometime between fall 1586 and February 1593 – *ie*, between the earliest return of the provincial companies following the Earl's grant, and two months prior to registration of *Venus and Adonis* (18 April 1593). The likelihood that Edward de Vere might have conceived the pseudonym before encountering the Stratford man and then later involved him in the deception, fairly strains credulity. Leicester's Men had paid a visit to Stratford in the summer of 1587, affording a fortuitous opportunity for Shakspeare's dislocation. With the death of Robert Dudley EARL OF LEICESTER (4 September 1588) the troupe merged with Strange's Men to form a new company under the patronage of Ferdinando Stanley Lord Strange, comprising five men (George Brayne, John Heminge, Will Kempe, Augustine Phillips and Thomas Pope) and six apprentices.

At this juncture the Queen's Men were in decline while the first regular playhouse in Southwark – Henslowe's Rose in the Liberty of the Clink – had initiated the eventual relocation of the theatre district from Shoreditch across the river to Bankside (1587). Edward Alleyn, who had gained control of the Admiral's Men (1589), amalgamated his troupe with Strange's Men to dominate the stage at The Rose until 1592 when plague forced them to tour the provinces for two years. On their return to London the troupes separated. Strange's Men had become known as Derby's Men after their patron Ferdinando Stanley succeeded his father as FIFTH EARL OF DERBY (25 September 1593) but shortly after were

forced to resort to the patronage of Lord Chamberlain Henry Carey First Lord Hunsdon, Derby's brother-in-law's father, on his untimely death (16 April 1594). The troupe now known as the Chamberlain's Men again changed names – to Hunsdon's Men – when Henry Carey died (23 July 1596) and his son became their patron. And when George Carey Second Lord Hunsdon followed his father as Lord Chamberlain (17 March 1597) the troupe resumed its status as the Chamberlain's Men.

Following the defeat of the Armada (29 July 1588) Edward de Vere – in mourning for his wife Anne Cecil who had died 6 June, and reeling from an ultimatum from William Cecil for clearance of all his debts – was assailed from a third direction, with the publication of the first of the Martinist tracts, *The Epistle of Martin Marprelate* (October 1588). Forced to sell Fisher's Folly (November 1588) and ultimately Oxford Court (sometime after July 1590) he remained preoccupied with the campaign against the Martinists, producing three rejoinders of his own – *A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior* (6 August 1589); *The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England* (20 October 1589); and *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie* (2 July 1590) – while supervising others by Thomas Nashe and John Lyly. His bankruptcy may be inferred from the default of rent for lodgings in the house of Julia Penn after he had vacated Oxford Court (prompting Thomas Churchyard to petition the Queen for sanctuary from the debt, early 1591). Sometime between this date and May 1592 he was married to Elizabeth Trentham, who bore his heir Henry (24 February 1593). Her residence at Stoke Newington proved a timely refuge – not least from the escalation of plague during the summer of 1592 throughout the two years during which the theatres remained closed.

Yet from the time that William Shakspeare of Stratford arrived in the city (fall 1587), theatrical activity continued to proliferate. Christopher Marlowe had come down from Cambridge (1586) to live with his friend Thomas Watson – a denizen of the writers' colony ensconced at Fisher's Folly (1589). Edward Alleyn, Marlowe's most conspicuous supporter, lived across the road near St Botolph's. Shakspeare, given his conjectured association with Edward de Vere, may also have taken up residence in Fisher's Folly.

The vicissitudes besetting Edward de Vere – impending invasion by Spain, the death of his wife, bankruptcy and the obligation to rise to the Queen's defence in the War of Words – did not apparently deflect his supervision of the theatre and production of suitably patriotic history plays. Yet the opportunity to take an active role on stage did not present itself until he had been forced to divest himself of his London homes with all the responsibilities and obligations they subtended. Suddenly adrift in rented rooms, he found himself for the first time, relatively unencumbered with the demands of property – thrown back like his men, on his work, for daily intercourse. With Shakspeare as his lone servant, Edward de Vere joined the society of the theatre in a way that he had

never before thought possible, adopting his disguise to share in the thrill of public performance.

His first submergence in the company of players occurred sometime after July 1590 (when he sold Oxford Court to John Hart) and lasted arguably through to the time of his second marriage and the closing of the theatres (May 1592). At this point William Shakspeare returned to his home in Stratford with the assurance that a future petition to the Herald's College for family arms had already been endorsed. Soon after, we find the first appeal for the proposed Shakspeare arms presented to Clarenceux King-of-Arms Robert Cooke (1593) – alluded to in the draft drawn up by William Dethick (20 October 1596). Edward de Vere's mother-in-law, it bears repeating, was Mildred Cooke (wife of William Cecil) who had died 5 April 1589 – one of the two best-educated women in England according to Roger Ascham, and arguably a more enduring maternal influence in the Earl's life than his own mother.

During his first phase of public playing Edward de Vere refurbished a comedy he had presented at Court, 1 January 1579: *A Morrall of the marryage of Mynde and Measure* (whose underplot seems to have been derived from Ariosto's *I Suppositi* – an English version, *The Supposes* translated by George Gascoigne, having appeared 1 February 1567 at Gray's Inn, just weeks prior to the Earl's admission). The addition of a lengthy induction to the early play introduced a premise incorporating cryptic details of his adopted disguise.

In its earliest extant version – the Induction to *The Taming of a Shrew* (1594) – we meet "Slie" a commoner passed out on the ground before a tavern. Encountering him, a Lord returning from the day's hunt, has his servants carry the "slavish Slie" with them to his manor, where he mischievously undertakes to 'elevate' him to the nobility by having him dressed in the Lord's "richest garments". At this point the Lord's players return to the manor and at his command prepare to play their current comedy, *The Taming of a Shrew*, for the "foolish lord" Sly. Their master, having adopted the cloak of a servant, wakes him to a mockery he is incompetent to detect.

Immediately after Sly is awakened, the servant – previously identified only as "servingman" – supplementing an exchange between his true Lord and the impostor, suddenly acquires the name "Wil". Moreover, his interjection comprises the first of the notorious appropriations from Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* in which the antecedent has been confused (Pegasus apparently assumed to be a Persian steed). Sly asks the other servant (the true Lord) his name, to which he replies "Simon". Sly rejoins: "Simon, that's as much to say 'Simion' or 'Simon'..." – the play on "ape" pointing unmistakably to the Lord's complicity as a player, while extending involvement to his *name*. In other words, the Lord as 'author' of the deception – portending an association with a peer known to have authored plays.

When told his players have gathered to perform, Sly rejoins with two of his most ironic queries – "O brave, be they my players?" and "Is there not a fool in the play?" – the first fairly begging the question, with rhetorical ingenuousness; and the other plainly identifying a role the disguised Earl had characteristically taken on stage (while underscoring the role reserved for Sly in the impending device). Richard Tarlton, the greatest fool of his day, had only recently died (5 September 1588) – a day after Robert Dudley EARL OF LEICESTER, the man who not only had held paralyzing control over Edward de Vere's estates but had also reputedly first employed Tarlton – leaving a vacancy the nobleman considered by Francis Meres "the best for Comedy amongst vs", may have impetuously undertaken to fill only temporarily at first, in part relieved of the shadow of Dudley's presence. The earliest suggestion of Will Kemp's succession as pre-eminent fool occurs notably in the early anti-Martinist pamphlet, *An Almond for a Parrat* (1589) dedicated "To that most Comicall and Conceited Cavaliero, Monsieur du Kempe, Jestmonger and Vice-regent-generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton" – echoing or presaging the characterization of the author of the Pasquill tracts of 1589 (but not the tract of 1590) which led the assault against the Puritan iconoclasts. Though it may seem obvious to render 'Tarlton' the antecedent (and thereby Regent-Generall) to Kemp's facetious title, a stricter reading might allow the 'Ghost' of Tarlton a more corporeal presentiment than the mere memory of a dear departed 'fool' – a third, ghostly presence in the Comicall company of Conceited Cavalieros.

It might be mentioned in passing that the ghost in *Hamlet* (whom Shakespeare is reputed to have 'played') had already made an entrance onto the public stage, Thomas Nashe crediting an "English Seneca" with "whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches" in his introduction to Robert Greene's *Menaphon* (entered 23 August 1589). As Charles Wisner Barrell points out: "*Hamlet* is the only play in the whole Folio in which Seneca is mentioned by name"; Francis Meres had compared Shakespeare to Plautus and Seneca in *Palladis Tamia* (1598); and the ghost in *Hamlet* had been "lifted bodily (or otherwise) out of the Roman master's bag of tricks". [*Elizabethan Mystery Man*, pp17/8] As Peter Moore noted in "The Rival Poet of Shakespeare's Sonnets", the Latin term for 'ghost' is 'larva' ('lares' being the beneficent spirits of the home), and for 'bacon' is 'larida' (cited in Cassell's solely from Ovid) – the reference to a phantasm, introducing an inadvertent play on 'boar' (although he made the connection purely to show that the brothers Anthony and Francis Bacon – notably, together with Henry Howard, later Earl of Northampton – were ghost-writers for Robert Devereux SECOND EARL OF ESSEX, alluded to in Sonnet 86). [The Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter VOL XXV NO 4, fall 1989, p11]

The Taming of the Shrew, first published in the Folio, introduces new elements to the Induction which invite association with Warwickshire. Sly identifies himself, on waking, as "Christopher Sly, old Sly's son, of

Burton-heath; by birth a pedlar, by education a card-maker, by transmutation a bear-herd, and now by profession a tinker" – Chambers presuming Burton Heath to be "Barton-on-the-Heath, where dwelt Shakespeare's cousins, the Lamberts". [William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems VOL 1, p328] Sly continues: "Ask Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot, if she know me not..." – Shakspeare's mother, Mary Arden, hailing from Wilmcote. While in his opening altercation with the Hostess of the Alehouse he protests, "...the Slys are no rogues; look in the chronicles; we came in with Richard Conqueror" – alerting the reader to the significance of the malaprop both regarding hybrid Sly, and in the main plot, Petruchio of Verona (named Ferando in *The Taming of a Shrew*) who undertakes to tame his Kate with contradictions (to "kill her in her own humour"). Many aspects of the play touching on things not what they seem.

Furthermore, when the players appear (in the Folio version, a troupe on tour), the Lord of the manor, in welcoming them, recognizes one: "This fellow I remember, Since once he play'd a farmer's eldest son: 'Twas where you woo'd the gentlewoman so well. I have forgot your name; but, sure, that part Was aptly fitted and naturally perform'd." To which the player rejoins: "I think 'twas Soto that your honour means" – 'sotto' in Italian meaning "underneath" or "beneath" [italics added].

The role of the farmer's son, aptly fitted and naturally performed by one who had wooed the gentlewoman so well (ie, the Queen at Court); whose name, the Lord – representing those who would recognize him at Court – has pointedly 'forgotten' (ie, his identity effectively obscured by the disguise).

The appropriations from *Tamburlaine*, it bears noting, would have been fresh enough in the memory of the regular playgoer to recognize their deliberate distortion, the play conjecturally having been performed 1589/90 and published (anonymously) in 1590. The initial period of Edward de Vere's putative impersonation of a public player, recall, extending from sometime after July 1590 through May 1592.

The first edition of *The Taming of a Shrew* appeared in 1594 under the imprint of Cuthbert Burbie (entered by the printer Peter Short, 2 May), its title-page acknowledging performances by "the Right honorable the Earle of Pembroke his seruants". This troupe – under the patronage of Henry Herbert SECOND EARL OF PEMBROKE, father of William and Philip (the "Most Noble and Incomparable Paire of Brethren" of the Folio dedication) and husband to Mary Sidney – is first noticed giving a performance at Court, 27 December 1592 (though vague allusions by Greene and Nashe suggest their existence in 1589). They appear to have disbanded by September 1593. Subsequently we find the play performed for Philip Henslowe by the Chamberlain's and Admiral's Men together at Newington Butts (13 June 1594).

As F.S.Boas points out in his introduction, the Elizabethans delighted in plots of mistaken identity [*The Taming of a Shrew*, pxxv]; two of the

more memorable plays of the period incorporating the changeling – *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (registered 14 May 1594) and *The Taming of a Shrew* (registered 2 May 1594) between which we find the registration of *Lucrece* (9 May 1594) – both conventionally reduced to mere precursors of the correlative plays by William Shakespeare (a most remarkable synchronicity).

Two volumes appeared in consequence of the Earl's first tenure on the public stage:

A Quippe for an Vpstart Courtier: or, a quaint dispute between Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches by Robert Greene (20 July 1592) 45 days before his death – ostensibly a response to the Martinists having turned their attack against the playwrights, yet introducing in its title a signal antecedent to the famous aspersion credited to the same author in *Greenes Groats-worth of Wit*: "an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers".

Greenes, Groats-worth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentaunce. Describing the follie of youth, the falshooode of makeshift flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischiefes of deceiuing Courtezans. VVritten before his death [3 September 1592], and published at his dying request. [by Thomas Creede, later the dominant printer of Shakespeare quartos; Henry Chettle, editor?] (20 September 1592).

C.M.Ingleby, addressing the dubious status of the common player, noted "[it] is difficult to realise at this day the excessive odium attaching to the theatrical profession, an odium shared by the playwrights who supplied them with dramatical pieces. But if we do this, we shall be able to understand somewhat of the indignation which the regular staff of playwrights must have felt when they found a common player aspiring to the [relative] dignity of a playwright, and thus threatening to bring the dramatist's vocation into tenfold discredit, and to defraud the regulars of their pay". [*Shakspeare Allusion-Books* PART 1, pxi] Greene, as becomes evident, had been fooled by the disguise, hurling contempt at the upstart player who further took liberties with playmaking, without ever discovering his gaffe. Henry Chettle, on the other hand, let into the secret, made an ignominious attempt in his *Kind-Harts Dreame* to apologise to the victim of both Greene's and his – as Greene's editor – offence (December 1592):

About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, leauing many papers in sundry Booke sellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of wit, in which a letter written to diuers play-makers, is offensiue by one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be auenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a liuing Author: and after tossing it two and fro, no remedy, but it must light on me. How I haue all the time of my conuersing in printing hindred the bitter inueying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prooue. With neither of them

that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I neuer be: The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I haue moderated the heate of liuing writers, and might haue vsde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the Author beeing dead, that I did not, I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his vprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art. For the first, whose learning I reuerence, and at the perusing of Greenes Booke, stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ: or had it beene true, yet to publish it, was intollerable: him I would wish to vse me no worse than I deserue. I had onely in the copy this share: it was il written, as sometime Greenes hand was none of the best: licensd it must be, ere it could bee printed, which could neuer be if it might not be read. To be briefe, I writ it ouer; and as neare as I could, followed the copy; onely in that letter I put something out, but in the whole booke not a worde in; for I protest it was all Greenes, not mine nor Maister Nashes, as some vniustly haue affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epistle to the second part of Gerileon, though by the workemans error T.N. were set to the end: that I confesse to be mine, and repent it not. Thus Gentlemen, hauing noted the priuate causes that made me nominate my selfe in print; being aswell to purge Master Nashe of that he did not, as to instifie what I did, and withall to confirme what M. Greene did: I beseech yee accept the publike cause, which is both the desire of your delight, and common benefite: for though the toye bee shadowed vnder the Title of Kind-hearts Dreame, it discouers the false hearts of diuers that wake to commit mischief. Had not the former reasons been, it had come forth without a father [ie, author's name]: and then shuld I haue had no cause to feare offending, or reason to sue for fauour. Now am I in doubt of the one, though I hope of the other; which if I obtaine, you shall bind me hereafter **to bee silent**, till I can present yee with some thing more acceptable. Henrie Chettle.

The chronic confusion over the occupation of the subject of Chettle's apology – playwright or player – is resolved with the realization that the player assailed by Greene proved to be not only the pre-eminent playwright of the day, but further the peer in charge of the entire industry of playmaking. Not surprising then, Chettle's earnest ingratiation after pardon for an earlier 'misunderstanding' from his honour's right-hand man, Thomas Nashe.

Edward de Vere's need for a pseudonym, it becomes apparent, having been the need for a new identity with which to mingle among the men of his company undetected, was at this point compounded by the need

to support the fabrication with two volumes of poetry by the man. His object was purely to preclude suspicion by producing corroborating effects which would substantiate his existence. To this end he undertook to have the volumes produced by a fellow from the same town as his eponym: Richard Field, a printer who had relocated to London in 1579 to indenture (as apprentice to George Bishop) with Thomas Vautrollier (29 September 1579 – 1586) whose shop was very near the theatre in Blackfriars (1570–90). Vautrollier's pressmark was an anchor depended from a right hand issuing from the clouds – a device reminiscent of Charlewood's sinister hand emerging from a cloud, which appeared in all three Pasquill pamphlets (1589/90). Vautrollier, it bears emphasizing, was employed to produce three of Arthur Golding's works: *The Lyfe of the most godly valeant and noble capteine & maintener of the trew Christian Religion in Fraunce, Jasper Colignie Shatilion sometyme greate Admirall of Fraunce*. (1576); *An Edict, or Proclamation set forthe by the Frenche Kinge vpon the Pacifying of the Troubles in Fraunce, with the Articles of the same Pacification: Read and published in the presence of the sayd King, sitting in his Parliament, the xiiij day of May, 1576*; and *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice*, VVritten in french by Theodore Beza, & translated into English, by A. G. Finished at Povles Belchamp in Essex, the xj of August. 1575. Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling in the Blacke Friars. 1577.

Thomas Creede, the foremost printer of Shakespeare quartos, it will be noted, also used an imprint involving a right hand emerging from a cloud – “an emblem of Truth, crowned and flying naked, scourged on the back with a rod by a hand issuing from a cloud” surrounded by the motto: *Virescit Vulnere Veritas*. [DNB V: 69] This motto – “Truth Renewed by a Wound” – seems to echo the earlier, notorious standard embroidered by Mary Queen of Scots on a pillow sent to Thomas Howard THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK (1570): *Virescit Vulnere Virtus* – ‘Courage Renewed by a Wound’. Creede, it is revealed, was initially apprenticed to Thomas East (est 1571) who “had printed at least fourteen books directly linked to the seventeenth Earl of Oxford or to his wife, Anne” including Lyly's *Euphues and his England* (Q1 – Q6: 1580–8); Greene's *Gwydonius, Carde of Fancie* (1584); William Bird's *Psalmes Sonets & Songs of sadness & piety* (1588); John Farmer's *Plainsong (Diverse and sundry ways)* 1571; and Arthur Golding's *Psalmes of David* (1571) – all dedicated to Edward de Vere. [Carl Caruso, ‘The Maiden and the Mermaid’ in *Shakespeare Matters* VOL 1 NO 2, p12 – extracted from *The True Story of the Shakespeare Publications* by Robert Brazil, 1999]

Field was “made free of the Stationers' Company” (6 February 1587), succeeding Vautrollier in shop and business at his death (1587) and a few months later married Jaklin, daughter or widow of his late master (12 January 1588). His earliest entry in the Stationers' Record occurs the day before Christmas 1588. The following year he produced *The Arte of English Poesie* (by John Lord Lumley or George Puttenham – both related

by marriage to Edward de Vere); and *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon LIBRI XV* (for bookseller John Harrison). An "unpresented" apprentice discovered 3 November 1589, occasioned a fine from the Company. He was licenced to print the Queen's godson Sir John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in folio (6 February 1592); entered *Venus and Adonis* for publication (18 April 1593); and *Lucrece* (9 May 1594) – both for John Harrison; and produced for B. Norton the second edition (in folio) of Sir Thomas North's *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer, Plutarke of Chaeronea* (1595) – the primary edition having been printed by Thomas Vautrollier and John Wight (1579). His father's possessions were notably evaluated in Stratford-on-Avon by John (father of William Shakspeare) and two others, very shortly after William's return home (21 August 1592).

Yet despite his employment as printer for the two volumes of poetry with dedications by William Shakespeare (and two subsequent reprints of *Venus and Adonis*: 1594 & 1596) Richard Field was never engaged to print a single Shakespeare play! "In the production of *Venus and Adonis* it is only reasonable to infer that the author had a control over the typographical arrangements. The purity of the text and the nature of the dedication may be thought to strengthen this opinion, and, although poems were not then generally introduced to the public in the same glowing terms usually accorded to dramatic pieces, the singularly brief and anonymous title-page does not bear the appearance of a publisher's handiwork." [DNB VI: 1277 – quoting James Halliwell-Phillipps] If Field had printed any of the plays it would have linked the poet-player with Edward de Vere, as many of the nobility were privy to his authorship of the Court devices refurbished for public performance. The pseudonym, one must appreciate, having been conceived purely to mask his playing, not the conception of plays.

The principal reason for the extended subterfuge of these volumes was to forestall discovery of the masquerade, by the Earl's father-in-law William Cecil. Although he would also have wanted to keep it from the Queen, Edward de Vere's prime concern remained the good will of his 'step-father'. Access to his children was dependent on the favour of their grandfather, in whose care they remained; while the press of his debts also fell under the heavy authority of the mighty Lord Treasurer. Such ignoble display could easily jeopardize his annual pension should Cecil be provoked to extremes, particularly so soon after the death of his beloved daughter Anne (6 June 1588) and wife Mildred (5 April 1589). Although plays by Shakespeare had begun to appear in print about the same time as the two volumes of poetry, the first to bear his name – *Loues labors lost* – was not issued until very shortly after Cecil's death (4 August 1598).

When the theatres reopened, the companies had been reformed with the Chamberlain's Men consolidated under the nominal patronage of

Henry Carey First Lord Hunsdon – following the death of Ferdinando Stanley FIFTH EARL OF DERBY (16 April 1594). Edward de Vere sent for his man in Stratford. The presence of the glover's son was required both to help maintain the deceit (mending and preserving 'costumes') and occupy the rented premises during periods when his master had slipped home to Stoke Newington. A repeatedly empty lodging ran the risk of arousing suspicion among neighbours and civic officials. The possibility that he would need to be produced for the authorities in the event that legal proceedings might be brought against the company, further necessitated his presence (not to mention his indispensability during Court appearances). I also suspect he may have been employed as a bodyguard, his redoubtable country stature recommending him to the post.

As Gwynneth Bowen has shown, the Earl of Oxford's Men fade from the record about 1589/90 (at Maidstone) not to reappear until the end of the 90s. She ascribes it to financial distress, citing the sale of Fisher's Folly and Oxford Court or Vere House as evidence of his privation – the result of his father-in-law's foreclosure following the death of his wife. The annuity from the Exchequer, however, should have sufficed to support his company as well as underwrite the expense of managing the local stage – players of some persuasion, after all, destined to benefit from the subsidized increase in activity. It seems that Edward de Vere had purposely determined to adopt a new relation to the players in the so-called Chamberlain's Men with the apparent retirement of his own troupe. [cf. Ogburn, *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, p644]

A year and a half later an assessment in "St Ellen's parishe" levied a tax of 5 shillings on 5 pounds of goods claimed by "William Shakspeare" (October 1596). A tax he failed to pay. Assessed in "St Hellens parishe" a second time for the same £5 worth of goods "William Shakespeare" now faced a tax of 13s 4d (1 October 1598). Yet he remained delinquent. A notation on the Residuum London membrane of the Pipe Rolls for 1599/1600 directed authorities to look for "Willelmus Shakspeare" on the Surrey side of the river (6 October 1599), while the corresponding Residuum Sussex membrane for 1599/1600 referred the matter to the Bishop of Winchester. Someone it seems, aware that the individual in question had something to do with the theatre, had suggested that authorities search for him presumably near the theatres in Surrey – despite the proximity of St Helen's to The Curtain and The Theatre. The letter from Edward de Vere to William Cecil dated 1595 from his mysterious residence in Bishopsgate suddenly takes on new dimension.

The disguised Earl surfaces again shortly after this as a defendant in the retaliatory writ of attachment sworn by William Wayte, stepson of William Gardiner Surrey Justice-of-the-Peace, against William Shakspeare, Francis Langley (proprietor of the Swan theatre, Southwark – newly opened summer 1596), Dorothy Soer (wife of John Soer) and Anna Lee (29 November 1596). Langley and Gardiner had bandied suits and writs all

year in conflict presumably over Langley's contemptible introduction of yet another vulgar playhouse to Gardiner's precinct, the latest writ not resulting in any recorded consequence. The cause of Wayte's writ – "fear of death" – if not a fabrication, may have been precipitated by an encounter with the four defendants after a performance at The Swan, perhaps at an inn or tavern (given the couples), which recalls another dimension of Prince Hal's carousing "in disguised array".

The performance would undoubtedly have been *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in which William Gardiner is lampooned as Justice Shallow, Wayte conceivably assailing the owner of the theatre with imprecations over the contemptible caricature, for which he reaped indignant rebuke. Langley earlier that year had had two suits of slander brought against him by Gardiner for having called him in public "a false knave, a false forsworn knave and a perjured knave" (21/2 May and again 1 June 1596 at Croydon) for attempting to defraud Thomas Walker by executing a bond against him after it had been discharged (1585). When Walker produced the released bill in court (5 February 1591) Gardiner claimed never to have made the release, despite the presence of his signature – a favourite trick with which he dispossessed innumerable defendants. [Hotson, *Shakespeare Versus Shallow*, pp322–4] On the erection of his theatre Langley presumably wasted little time staging the satire of his insufferable adversary.

Unless his son was ill awhile, Shakspeare likely returned to Stratford on learning of the death of "Hamnet filius William Shakspeare" in time only for the funeral (11 August 1596). If he went back to London afterwards he remained only until spring, removing home with the means (£60) to buy New Place (4 May 1597). Letters from Abraham Sturley to his brother-in-law Richard Quiney speculating on the willingness of "or countrimā mr Shaksper" to invest in the Shottery tithes (24 January 1598); from "Ryc. Quyne" in London seeking a loan of £30 (25 October 1598); and from "Abrahā Sturlej" to Richard Quiney claiming "or countrimā mr Wm. Shak. would pcure vs monej" (4 November 1598) suggest he remained in Stratford perhaps to renovate the place or simply cherish his remaining family. The letters further imply that he had returned to Stratford with means beyond the price of his new house.

Until The Globe was erected (spring 1599) Shakspeare's remuneration from the company of the Chamberlain's Men (1594–9) as actor-sharer was restricted to a portion of the receipts from the groundlings at the public playhouses and a smaller share from the royal benefice granted for Court performances. Investment in the syndicate of entrepreneurs responsible for erecting The Globe, entitled him as housekeeper to a portion of half the receipts from the galleries at performances (less his share of annual rent of £7 5s, for the property), which augmented his portion of actor-sharer receipts. These payments were regularly made to the disguised Earl through his man (the real William Shakspeare of Stratford), who continued to act as his master's receiver once he had

'retired from active participation' – ie, following the death of Edward de Vere. The receipts, I would argue, were his pay from the start (although, it would seem, only part of the reward he gained from his role in the deception). The most expedient identity for the real William Shakspeare of Stratford in this regard would have been as brother or cousin of his presumptive double.

Based on "[s]tatements in the suit of 1635 [of Robert Benfield and Heliard Swanston against Cuthbert Burbage, Winifred Robinson and William Burbage]...it [is] possible to determine pretty exactly the financial position of the King's [Chamberlain's] men during a year extending from 26 May 1634, to 18 May 1635. This seems to have been a full year of playing, and it may reasonably be assumed that the Globe was open for about 150 days in the summer [*sic*], and the Blackfriars for about 150 days in winter [*sic*]. Each of the actor-sharers made a net profit of about £90. The Blackfriars 'house' was nearly twice as profitable as the Globe. Each of sixteen housekeeper's shares in the Globe made about £25; each of eight such shares in the Blackfriars about £90." [Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* VOL II, p69]

In London William Cecil's death (4 August 1598) preceded the first appearance of a printed play under the name William Shakespeare and the first reference to Shakespeare as a playwright, by a month or so. *Loues labors lost* was originally written in 1578 for performance at Court (where the revised version appeared again, Christmas 1597, before being printed). *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasvry* by Francis Meres (7 September) contains ten allusions to Shakespeare, including first mention of him as a playwright – "Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Loue labors lost, his Loue labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, and his Merchant of Venice: for Tragedy his Richard the 2. Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King John, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Iuliet". The heretofore enigmatic reference to Edward de Vere as an entity distinct from Shakespeare – "the best for Comedy amongst vs bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde" – may ultimately be appreciated as a measure of his success in preserving the deception.

After the burial of his father "Johañes Shakspear" (8 September 1601) William returned to London once more taking up lodgings inside Cripplegate at the corner of Mugwellstrete (Monkwell) and Silverstrete in the house of "Christopher Mountioye", tire-maker (1602). Yet his very spotty memory of the family and events which precipitated the suit between Stephen Belott, Mountjoy's apprentice and son-in-law, and his master (11 May 1612), leads to the suspicion that he had not remained a tenant there long. Conveyance to Shakspeare of 107 acres in "Olde Stretford" from William and John Combe for £320 – despite the abstract having been delivered to Gilbert Shakspeare (1 May 1602) – and the surrender of Walter Getley's cottage in Chapel Lane (opposite the garden at New Place) to "Willielmi Shackespere" (28 September) point not only to his return, but also to a vast increase in resources. The

possibility remains that the Monkwell premises (so near The Fortune) was also a closet reserved for the disguise of Edward de Vere.

If he were merely determined to prevent his identification as author, Edward de Vere might simply have left all his work anonymous – the unauthorized ascription of anonymous plays to William Shakespeare resulting in the first place from the affordability of the pseudonym. The utility of a pseudonym in an age when an author could be insulated from the curiosity or antipathy of the public by merely ‘keeping a low profile’ argues more for the adoption of another identity.

NOTE

John Davies of Hereford addressed Epigram 159 in his *Scourge of Folly, Consisting of satyricall Epigramms and others in Honor of many noble and worthy Persons of our Land. Together with a pleasant (though discordant) descant vpon most English Prouerbes, and others* (1611) “To our English Terence, Mr Will. Shake-speare” – the name Terence, according to Suetonius, signal as “a cover for authors of rank”. [Ruth Loyd Miller, *op cit*, p29; note, DNB transcribes the title as above with a hyphen in the name Shakespeare, omitted from the typography in *Oxfordian Vistas*] This poem represents “the only truly informative reference to Shakespeare as an actor that has come down to us”. [Ogburn, *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, p92]

Some say (good Will), which I, in sport, do sing,
Hadst thou not played some Kingly parts in sport,
Thou hadst been a companion for a King; [*ie, comes* = companion]
And been a King among the meaner sort.
Some others rail; but, rail as they think fit,
Thou hast no railing, but, a reigning Wit:
And honesty thou sowst, which they do reap;
So, to increase their stock which they do keep.

A “very voluminous” writer, he addressed the majority of his work – from his first publication, *Mirum in Modum* (1602) dedicated to William Herbert THIRD EARL OF PEMBROKE – to members of the Herbert, Stanley and Vere families (including Alice Spencer, widow of Ferdinando Stanley FIFTH EARL OF DERBY). Davies was resident in St Martin’s Lane – the artists’ quarter – at the time of his death. One of his patrons was Fulke Greville, MP for Warwickshire and reputed keeper of the records of the town of Stratford-on-Avon.

SHAKESPEARE’S DRAMATIC FIRST QUARTOS PRECEDING THE FOLIO

1594

1 <i>Titus Andronicus</i>	Danter	MILLINGTON E. WHITE
2 <i>First Part of the Contention...</i> * (<i>Henry VI PART II</i>)	Creede	MILLINGTON
3 <i>Taming of a Shrew</i> *	Short	BURBIE

1595

4 <i>True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York</i> * (<i>Henry VI PART III</i>)	Short	MILLINGTON
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1597

5 <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> *	Danter	
6 <i>Richard II</i>	Simmes	WISE
7 <i>Richard III</i>	Simmes	WISE

1598

8 <i>Henry IV PART I</i>	Short	WISE
9 <i>Love’s Labour’s Lost</i> By W. Shakespere	W. White	BURBIE

1599

10 <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (corrected)	Creede	BURBIE
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1600

11 <i>Henry IV PART II</i> By William Shakespeare	Simmes	WISE ASPLEY
12 <i>A Midsummer Night’s Dream</i> By William Shakespeare	Roberts	FISHER
13 <i>Merchant of Venice</i> By William Shakespeare	Roberts	HEYES
14 <i>Much Ado about Nothing</i> By William Shakespeare	Simmes	WISE ASPLEY
15 <i>Chronicle History of Henry v</i> *	Creede	MILLINGTON BUSBY

1602

16 <i>Sir John Falstaff & the Merry Wives</i> By William Shakespeare*	Creede	JOHNSON
--	--------	---------

1603

- | | | |
|--|--------|------------------|
| 17 <i>Hamlet</i> By William Shake-speare * | Simmes | LING
TRUNDELL |
|--|--------|------------------|

1604

- | | | |
|--|---------|------|
| 18 <i>Hamlet</i> By William Shakespeare (enlarged) | Roberts | LING |
|--|---------|------|

1608

- | | | |
|---|-------|--------|
| 19 <i>King Lear</i> By M. William Shak-speare | Okes? | BUTTER |
|---|-------|--------|

1609

- | | | |
|--|---------|------------------|
| 20 <i>Pericles</i> By William Shakespeare | W.White | GOSSON |
| 21 <i>Troilus and Cressida</i>
By William Shakespeare | Eld | BONIAN
WALLEY |

1622

- | | | |
|--|------|---------|
| 22 <i>Othello</i> By William Shakespeare | Okes | WALKLEY |
|--|------|---------|

This checklist of Shakespeare's dramatic quartos (adapted from Sampson, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, pp277/8; 'bad quartos' starred) makes it evident that at least four of the eight anonymous plays preceding the earliest ascription of any play to Shakespeare, incorporate 'authorized' texts – presenting a formidable complication for the theory that the pseudonym 'William Shakespeare' was unquestionably conceived (no later than 1593) to facilitate publication.

The two plays from 1597 – *Richard II* and *Richard III* – moreover, were reissued a year later under the name Shakespeare, by the same publisher who had issued them anonymously – Andrew Wise – supporting the supposition that the earlier editions were 'authorized'. The texts of *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry IV PART I* and *Richard II*, it will be recalled, present the original of their respective Folio texts; while the version of *Richard III* in the Folio bears extensive alterations from all six preceding quarto variants.

To infer that these six were thereby unauthorized, would invite rejection of the authority of such quartos as *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo & Juliet* (Q2), *Henry IV PART II*, *King Lear*, *Othello* and of course *Pericles* (not to mention the enigmatic Folio version of *Hamlet*, which, while 200 lines shorter than that of the quarto of 1604, includes 85 new lines). Which leads to a disturbingly attenuated view of authorized publication – leaving only *Titus Andronicus* (1594), *Richard II* (1597), *Henry IV PART I* (1598), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1600), *Merchant of Venice* (1600), *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600) and arguably *Troilus and Cressida* (1609) among the 'authorized' quartos of Shakespeare's plays (all but the first three bearing the name Shakespeare).

Nevertheless, the problem remains that if the 'William Shakespeare' pseudonym had been conceived as late as 1593 to facilitate publication of the plays, we are led to accept that the author apparently allowed three or perhaps four of his plays to be published *anonymously* through the succeeding five years (while four others appeared surreptitiously – not to mention nine further source, spurious or apocryphal plays*), without ever using it for that purpose – despite exhibiting little compunction in appending the pseudonym to two repeatedly reprinted poems.

If, as some contend, authors had little to do with publication of plays, two things argue against the need for a pseudonym: (1) the absence of any name on 17 printed plays attributed to or associated with Shakespeare from 1591 through 1598 – removing all expediency; and (2) the tacit stricture against the involvement of high nobility with the public theatre, which might reasonably have included public libel of noble character by publishers asserting or revealing such association in print. Further, it would seem equally likely, that public servants charged with preserving national propriety (such as the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company) might reflexively have resisted fatal exposure to the repercussions from sanctioning dramatic publication under the explicit name of a high noble. Allowing such shame to contaminate one of less than 40 high nobles in Her Majesty's service was to risk the sacred dignity of the Crown.

There is also support for the conclusion that authors were not entirely excluded from the publication process, in dedications appended to their dramatic works. Given the role that Edward de Vere conjecturally played in directing the theatre industry in London, not to mention his stature as pre-eminent peer in the realm, it strains credulity to contend that he had nothing to do with the publication of the Shakespeare plays. A nobleman in this position with his connections (despite the absence of copyright law) could surely have curtailed such activity if he were determined to – especially over a period encompassing 17 publications. Yet after five years of anonymous publication, the publishers (including two of the four who had issued the first eight quartos) suddenly, in concert, inexplicably decide to incorporate a pseudonym originally employed five years previously, into subsequent publications – purportedly without intervention from the author (why he might have waited five years to insist on its use, if the author were responsible, presenting an even greater perplexity.) A pseudonym, moreover, conceived (according to the prevailing theory) expressly to facilitate publication.

It is precarious to presume one responsible for publishing Cardanus, Ovid, etc, might shrink from publishing his own plays, or stand idly by while printers he had employed, printed his work without limit. Nor is it profitable to retreat to the commonplace that the Chamberlain's Men were in fact responsible for publication of the early Shakespeare quartos,

* *King John I & II* (1591); *Arden of Feversham* (1592); *Taming of a Shrew* (1594); *True Tragedy of Richard III* (1594); *Mucedorus* (1595); *Lochrine* (1595); *Edward III* (1596); *Famous Victories of Henry V* (1598).

given that Edward de Vere effectively controlled them (if not as Director-General of the Elizabethan stage, or actor-sharer in the company, at least as their playwright). And if the pseudonym wasn't conceived to conceal his identity at Court (as is clearly evident from Meres and Puttenham), or appears incidental to publication, its purpose may in actuality have been to mask an active participation in public productions.

Of 53 printers in London at the time of the enactment of the Star Chamber decree of 1586 [McKerrow, 'Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationers' Trade' in *Shakespeare's England* VOL 11, p218; Chambers giving "20 or so" in *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* VOL 1, p128: the number of master printers in London reduced to twenty by Star Chamber decree, 11 July 1637; "[t]here were then [1583] in London twenty-three printers, who worked fifty-three presses" DNB 11: 1116], six – John Danter, Richard Field, James Roberts, Peter Short, Valentine Simmes and William White – were responsible for printing the primary quartos of Shakespeare's 'accepted' works which appeared during the lifetime of Edward de Vere; while at least eight booksellers – William Aspley, Cuthbert Burbie, Thomas Fisher, John Harrison, Thomas Hayes, Thomas Millington, Edward White and Andrew Wise – undertook their publication.

Adding surreptitious or 'bad' quartos the numbers increase to seven printers – with Thomas Creede – and twelve booksellers – with John Busby, Arthur Johnson, Nicholas Ling and John Trundell.

Including apocryphal plays and spurious Shakespeare attributions the totals expand to nine printers – with Richard Read and Simon Stafford – and eighteen booksellers – with William Barley, Cuthbert Burbie, Sampson Clarke, William Jones, Thomas Pavier and Edward White.

Adding reprints of 'accepted' works, the number of stationers involved in Shakespeare's publications during the lifetime of Edward de Vere increases to twelve printers – with Richard Bradocke, Humphrey Lownes and Robert Raworth – and possibly twenty publishers – with Mathew Law and William Leake. While the totals remain the same on adding reprinted apocrypha and spurious attributions.

Thomas Judson, printer, and William Jaggard, publisher of the first edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1599) are excluded because the volume is an anthology.

Printers

PRIMARY QUARTOS: John Danter, George Elde, Nicholas Okes, James Roberts, Peter Short, Valentine Simmes, William Stansby, William White

REPRINTED QUARTOS: Edward Allde, Thomas Cotes, Thomas Creede, T. H., Isaac Jaggard, Augustine Mathews, John Norton, M. P., Thomas Purfoot, James Roberts, Valentine Simmes, Simon Stafford, William Stansby, William White, R. Young

SURREPTITIOUS OR BAD QUARTOS: Thomas Creede, John Danter, Peter Short, Valentine Simmes

APOCRYPHAL & SPURIOUS PLAYS: Henry Ballard, Richard Bonian, Thomas Cotes, Thomas Creede, George Elde, Richard Read, Peter Short, Valentine Simmes, Simon Stafford

REPRINTED APOCRYPHA ETC: Elizabeth Allde, Bernard Alsop, George Elde, Isaac Jaggard, Augustine Mathews, Nicholas Okes, George Purslow, Peter Short, Valentine Simmes, Thomas Snodham, Simon Stafford, William White

POEMS: George Elde, Richard Field, Thomas Judson

REPRINTED POEMS: John Beale, Richard Bradocke, Thomas Cotes, Richard Field, John Harrison, William Jaggard, Humphrey Lownes, Nicholas Okes, Robert Raworth, Peter Short, Thomas Snodham, William Stansby, John Wreittoun

FIRST FOLIO: Isaac Jaggard

SECOND FOLIO: Thomas Cotes

Publishers

PRIMARY QUARTOS: William Aspley, Richard Bonian, Cuthbert Burbie, Nathaniel Butter, Thomas Fisher, Henry Gosson, Thomas Hayes, Thomas Millington, John Smethwick, Thomas Walkley, Henry Walley, Edward White, Andrew Wise

REPRINTED QUARTOS: R. B., Cuthbert Burbie, Thomas Fisher, Richard Hawkins, Laurence Hayes, Mathew Law, Nicholas Ling, Richard Meighen, Hugh Parry, Thomas Pavier, William Sheares, John Smethwick, Edward White, Andrew Wise

SURREPTITIOUS OR BAD QUARTOS: John Busby, Arthur Johnson, Nicholas Ling, Thomas Millington, John Trundell

APOCRYPHAL & SPURIOUS PLAYS: William Barley, Cuthbert Burbie, Nathaniel Butter, Sampson Clarke, Arthur Johnson, William Jones, Thomas Norton, Thomas Pavier, John Waterson, Edward White, John Wright

REPRINTED APOCRYPHA ETC: Timothy Barlow, E. Blackamore, Cuthbert Burbie, Francis Coles, Thomas Dewe, John Helme, Arthur Johnson, William Jones, Nicholas Ling, Thomas Millington, Thomas Pavier, Edward White, John Wright

POEMS: William Aspley, John Harrison, William Jaggard, Thomas Thorpe, John Wright

REPRINTED POEMS: William Barrett, John Benson, John Harrison, Roger Jackson, William Jaggard, William Leake, John Parker, John Wreittoun

FIRST FOLIO: William Aspley, Edward Blount, William Jaggard, John Smethwick

SECOND FOLIO: Robert Allot, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, Richard Meighen, John Smethwick

The most prolific printers were Thomas Creede (13), Valentine Simmes (12) and John Norton, Peter Short & William White (each 6).

The following tabulation presents a concentrated enterprise supporting the Shakespeare publications – an extended compact of ostensible ‘collaborators’ controlling production:

PRINTERS

- 1 John Charlewood (1567–93) → James Roberts (1594–1608) [4]
→ William & Isaac Jaggard (1608–27) [5 + possibly 6 further Pavier quartos] → Thomas Cotes (1627–35) [4] = [13 +]
- 2 Thomas East (1567–1609) [+ (1567–70) Henry Middleton]
→ (A 1578) Thomas Creede (1593–1617) [13]
→ Bernard Alsop (1609–52) [1] = [14];
→ (A2 1603–9) Thomas Snodham (1609–25) [2] [+ Elizabeth Burby]
→ [Snodham’s executor being William Stansby (1597–1639)] = [2]
- 3 Henry Middleton (1567–87) [+ Thomas East (1567–70)] 3 presses (1583)
→ (A 1577) Richard Bradocke (1581–1615) [2*] [+ widow of Robert Robinson (1597)] → Thomas Haviland & William Hall (1609–12)
→ John Beale (1612–41) [1] = [3]
- 4 John Day (1544–84) [+ William Seres (1544–9)]
→ (A 1582–8) John Danter (1589–99) [2] having apprenticed also to Robert Robinson (1589) = [2]
- 5 Henry Bynneman (1566–83) [+ Henry Denham (1580–3)]
→ (A 1576–84) Valentine Simmes (1585–1622) [12]
- 6 Thomas Vautrollier (1564–87)
→ (A 1579–87) Richard Field (1587–1624) [+ Jaklin Vautrollier (1588)] [5]
- 7 Richard Jugge (–1577) → (A) William White (1597–1615) [6] +
(bought) Richard Jones & William Hill (1597) → John White (1613–24)
→ (1624, farmed to) Augustine Mathews (1619–53) [2] = [8]
- 8 Henry Denham (1560–89) 4 presses and 7 apprentices (1583)
→ Peter Short (1589–1603) [6] → Humphrey Lownes (1587–1629) [1]
[+ the widow Short (1604)] = [7]
- 9 Christopher Barker (1569–99) → (A 1596) Simon Stafford (1596–1626) [4]
→ George Purslowe (1614–32) [1] who apprenticed with Richard Bradocke (1602–9) [2*] = [5]
- 10 John Allde → Edward Allde (1584–1628) [2]
→ (A 1579) John Windet (1584–1611)
→ (A 1590–7) William Stansby (1597–1639) [4] = [6]

A chronological abstract of this list would reveal that John Charlewood – described by Martin Marprelate: “the earl of Arundels man...printer that had presse and letter in a place called Charterhouse in London in anno 1587”, responsible for producing the heretical *Preservative Against the Poison of Supposed Prophecies* by Henry Howard (1583) as well as the three Pasquill pamphlets of 1589/90 – was dead by 1593, but James Roberts

did not marry his widow, succeeding to both Charlewood’s business and playbill monopoly, until the following year (31 May 1594). Curiously, this is the very year that Thomas Creede established his printshop – a shop which ended up (if not originated) in the Garter House or forecourt of the Manor of Barbican, otherwise known as Willoughby House, directly across the road. Curiously, both the Charlewood imprint – “dwelling in Barbican at the signe of the halfe Eagle and the Key” – and a late list of occupants of the printshop where Shakespeare’s Folio was produced, fix his premises in Barbican.

John Charlewood’s first entry in the Stationers’ Register appears in 1562. Thomas Howard FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK bought Charterhouse from the estate of Sir Edward North, May 1565. The Alvan campaign in the Netherlands (1567) forced a flood of Protestant refugees into London, including artists and craftsmen such as Gerært Janssen, instrumental in effecting the architectural renaissance in England of the Great House. During the extensive renovations at the late monastery of Charterhouse – the Carthusian order notably pre-eminent throughout Europe as printers – the Duke, first cousin of Edward de Vere, married a third time (1567), yet five years later at his death (2 June 1572) the estate was still under construction.

John Charlewood printed *Zelauto* by Anthony Munday (1580) and *Pandora* by John Soowthern (1584) both by servants of and dedicated to Edward de Vere. In 1583 – at the time he printed *Preservative Against the Poison of Supposed Prophecies* by Henry Howard, the late Duke’s younger brother – he is reported as having two presses. Charterhouse was then in the possession of Philip Howard FIRST HOWARD EARL OF ARUNDEL, who had been placed under house arrest there from 1583 until his removal to the Tower (25 April 1585) where he died (19 October 1597). His half-brother, Thomas Howard (later FIRST EARL OF SUFFOLK), having only recently been restored in blood by the Queen (19 December 1584), took possession of the estate; yet deference to his jailed half-brother Philip – both as head of the clan and the sole remaining titled Howard – obliged Charlewood’s identification as “the earl of Arundels man” in 1587, despite Philip’s absence of two years.

Shortly after the Star Chamber decree limiting stationers (23 June 1586) and the related Dormant Privy Seal order authorizing an annual pension of £1000 for Edward de Vere (26 June 1586), John Charlewood was granted the first monopoly for printing playbills (30 October 1587). Two years later he produced the three Pasquill pamphlets composed by Edward de Vere: *A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior* (6 August 1589); *The Returne of the renowned Causaliero Pasquill of England* (20 October 1589); and *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie* (2 July 1590); followed by John Lyly’s *Endymion* (1591).

Edward de Vere’s sister Mary had moved into Willoughby House after her wedding to Peregrine Bertie Ninth Lord Willoughby (December 1577), the place she would call home until death in 1624. Her mother-in-law,

Katherine Willoughby (Brandon) dowager DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK died 19 September 1580, leaving the manor entirely in their possession (Richard Bertie Eighth Lord Willoughby, although he survived his wife to 9 April 1582, spending his remaining time up north). Peregrine and Mary's first son Robert Bertie was born shortly after (16 December 1582). Following the death of Peregrine Bertie (25 June 1601) Mary remained at Willoughby House with her children, although technically the manor had become the property of her eldest son – who after 1603 spent much of his time in Lincolnshire. [DNB 11: 408]

Bernard Alsop joined with Thomas Creede in 1616, succeeding to the business a year later on his partner's death. Despite the fact that Creede had printed more Shakespearean quartos than any other single printer, the sole copyright among those titles exercised by Alsop was that of *The Famous Victories Of Henry The fifth*, second quarto. The imprint reads: "Imprinted by Barnard Alsop, dwelling in Garter place in Barbican, 1617." Creede was originally situated beneath the Catherine Wheel in Thames Street (1593–1600) near – or perhaps in – the premises of his late master Thomas East ("between St Paul's Wharf and Baynard's Castle, 1577–88") [Henry Plomer in McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers...* 1557–1640, p96] – a location very close by the residence leased from Julia Penn by Edward de Vere (1591/2). Creede subsequently relocated to "The Eagle and Child in the Old Exchange, 1600–17" [op cit, p80] – although in an earlier source Plomer qualifies this with "whether [Alsop] moved into new premises or whether the first and second imprints given above ["(1) with T.Creed, at the sign of the Eagle & Child; (2) Garter Place, in Barbican, 1617"] refer to the same place is not clear". [A *Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers...* 1641 to 1667, p4] The possibility that Creede may have been accommodated at Willoughby House after the death of Peregrine Bertie (25 June 1601) must be considered in light of these data.

Apart from Alsop's brief tenure at Garter Place (coinciding with his sole Shakespearean production), Creede's preponderant use of early versions of the plays he printed lends to the suspicion that he was familiar with someone at least close to the author, and that his source in fact may have been his landlady, younger sister to Edward de Vere (or even more likely the playwright himself). As the map shows, the Garter House is located within the gate of the estate, close against the Manor of Barbican proper.

Need I add that this recognition that the Manor of Barbican and Willoughby House were one and the same, and that the successor to the most prolific of all Shakespearean printers spent a year there during which he printed his sole Shakespearean publication, quite conclusively establishes the first incontrovertible connection between a printed Shakespeare play (or source, if you must) and our putative author, Edward de Vere.

The following year Henry de Vere EIGHTEENTH EARL OF OXFORD (ætat 25) returned from almost six years abroad in Italy (October 1618), where he is on record as having endeavoured to obtain the release of

Sidney Bertie from the clutches of the Inquisition at Ancona. His mother having purchased the inheritance rights of his three half-sisters, Henry was sole heir to his father's estate, suggesting that the manuscripts of the plays were safely ensconced at Willoughby House. Armed differences between the Norris and Bertie clans (Peregrine Bertie, Mary Vere's younger son, having been severely wounded during the fall of 1613 in a duel with Francis Second Lord Norris, her niece Bridget's husband) evidence clear division with at least one branch of the family – the reason perhaps for Henry's support of his niece Elizabeth's elopement with Edward Wray (27 March 1622), shortly after her father Lord Norris's suicide (29 January) in defiance of her guardians, his half-sister Susan and her husband Philip Herbert EARL OF MONTGOMERY.

Shortly before his investiture as Lord High Chamberlain (22 May 1619) the so-called Pavier 'collection' of Shakespeare plays arguably produced by Isaac Jaggard – Thomas Pavier named as overseer in his father William's will – was enjoined from publication by Lord Chamberlain William Herbert EARL OF PEMBROKE (3 May 1619). Nine quartos (comprising ten plays) having been completed prior to the injunction, it appears the project was initiated no later than July 1618, three or four months prior to Henry's return (A.W. Pollard estimating a quarto "could easily have been printed in a month if the printer employed a journeyman and a fairly advanced apprentice" — *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, p66). Following the injunction new title-pages were presumably struck to allow the finished volumes to be purveyed surreptitiously as the residue of antecedent editions. The evident liberties taken by the printers of the so-called Pavier quartos before his return to England, compounded by Bernard Alsop's move from the Barbican down Aldersgate St near St Anne's shortly after, appear to reflect the intervention of a more diligent supervision of the affairs of Henry's father.

It would appear that following the death of John Charlewood (1592?) and before his widow had remarried James Roberts (21 May 1594), Edward de Vere was compelled to resort to a new collaborator in the production of his publications. Although Thomas Creede had achieved the status of freeman of the Company of Stationers as early as 1578, he apparently remained a journeyman (perhaps for his late master Thomas East, who as Robert Brazil points out, had "printed no less than 14 books linked to [the Earl of] Oxford or his wife Anne over a period of twenty years") until 1593 when he finally opened his own shop. His earliest publication, according to Brazil, was Robert Greene's *Gwydonius: the Carde of Fancie* (1593), third quarto – originally 1584 – dedicated to Edward de Vere. Curiously, it had also enjoyed an earlier printing by James Roberts (1587) just prior to the grant of his patent for printing Almanacs (12 May 1588). [The *True Story of the Shakespeare Publications*, pp115/6] The possibility that Edward de Vere may have underwritten the cost of Creede's belated enterprise fairly begs consideration.

Meanwhile the widow Charlewood, who had maintained her husband's premises through 1593 and the first few months of 1594 – either at the

Charterhouse or “in Barbican” – managed to attract James Roberts with her infinite assets, effectively restoring the convenience of her location to the House patron, Edward de Vere. Yet Roberts is not fully engaged to print any of the Shakespeare plays until 1600 – the precise year Creede relocated to *The Eagle and the Child* (which appears to have been at the Old Exchange 1600/1? before arguably removing to Garter Place, 1601?–17); and coincidentally, the year that Charles Howard expediently endorsed his retainer Edward Alleyn’s petition for a licence to erect The Fortune theatre as a new home for the Admiral’s Men (April 1600). Imagine the advantage to Edward de Vere in having *two* dedicated print-shops at his disposal when staying with his sister on visits to the city.

Mary Vere, it bears remembering, lived until 1624 – a few months after the production of her brother’s collected works in the old Charlewood printshop either on or adjacent to her property. The Fortune theatre, likewise, was immediately beside Willoughby House (1600–21).

The confusion over the location of the original Charlewood shop may be resolved by his reasonable removal to Barbican from Charterhouse during the tenure of Philip Howard. The Charlewood ensign of *The Half Eagle and the Key* was an adoption of the arms of the city of Geneva, seat of the Protestant Reformation. Philip Howard had been confined to the estate in 1583 after his involvement in the examination of Thomas Campion compelled his conversion to the old faith. The Protestant ensign may have proved too much for him to endure – Charlewood requested to relocate across the road to his cousin’s property following the production of *Preservative Against the Poison of Supposed Prophecies* by uncle Henry Howard (later EARL OF NORTHAMPTON). After Philip’s removal to the Tower (25 April 1585), his half-brother Thomas conceivably invited John Charlewood back – the Bertie household preoccupied with children. Presumably the temporary removal to Barbican introduced the prospect of a printshop to the Willoughby estate.

It is useful to recall that the Howard clan continued in disgrace despite Thomas Howard’s restoration in blood (19 December 1584), his younger brother William, having followed Philip’s lead to jail. The alleged treason of their attainted father – the foremost noble in the realm – remained odious in memory and the recusancy of his brother Henry (reported by Edward de Vere, December 1580) did little to temper official disfavour. The press at Charterhouse would, from its inception, undoubtedly have been at the disposal of the Duke’s dearest cousin Edward de Vere, who, during the exile of his orphaned heirs at Audley End (under the tutelage of uncle Henry Howard), appears to have contributed badly needed support. This may be inferred from the appearance of Philip (*ætat* 21) and Thomas Howard (*ætat* 17) together with Frederick Windsor (*ætat* 19) in the company of his uncle Edward de Vere (*ætat* 28), in a masque at Court (3 March 1579). Thomas Howard would likely not have hesitated to restore so crucial a facility as the press, to his devoted ‘uncle’ Edward, on assuming possession of Charterhouse.

Garter Place was built by Sir Thomas Wriothesley [Writh] (1485?–1534) shortly after he succeeded his father, Sir John Wriothesley Third Garter King of Arms (*d* April 1504) – as Fourth Garter King (26 January 1505). His father had been presiding Garter King when the College of Heraldry was incorporated, giving rise to the adoption of the Wriothesley arms as the standard of the College. His elder brother William was the father of Thomas FIRST EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (1505–50).

Garter King-of-Arms (instituted by Henry V, 1417) was the principal King of Arms in the College of Heraldry (incorporated by Richard III, 1483). One of his duties was to preside over the installment of Knights of the Garter, the highest order of mediæval knighthood. Reportedly proposed as early as 1344, the Order of the Garter – comprising 26 members – was initiated at Windsor Castle by Edward III (23 April 1348). Officers of the Order included as Prelate: Bishop of Winchester; as Chancellor: Bishop of Oxford; as Registrar: Dean of Windsor; the Garter King; and the Usher of the Black Rod.

Sir Gilbert Dethick (1519?–84) succeeded Sir Christopher Barker (*d* 1550; appointed 9 July 1536) as Sixth Garter King (20 April 1550) presiding until his death (3 October 1584). His second son William (1543–1612) eventually filled the vacant post (21 April 1586) until ultimately being displaced for improprieties by Sir William Segar (*d* 1633) in January 1605. William Dethick, it is worth noting, was married to “Thomasine, only daughter of Robert Young, citizen and fishmonger of London” [DNB V: 870] – a common enough name perhaps, but a namesake Robert Young rose to become the most important printer of the Carolingian age (1625–43) buying up “several large and old-established printing houses in London”, printing the fifth quartos of *Hamlet* and *Romeo & Juliet* for John Smethwicke (both 1637) and becoming King’s Printer in Scotland (12 April 1632).

Sir Christopher Barker was initially in the employ of Charles Brandon DUKE OF SUFFOLK (1485–1545), first husband of Katherine Willoughby (married 1533). Barker’s subsequent occupation of Garter House suggests that the occupants of Willoughby House adjacent may have regularly exercised influence over the appointment of the Garter King of Arms. Brandon stood second godfather to Henry Wriothesley SECOND EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (23 April 1545), shortly before he died – alongside Henry VIII.

The Manor of Bas Court or Barbican is reported to have originally been granted by Edward III to one Robert Brandon EARL OF SUFFOLK in 1336. [CITY OF LONDON WEBPAGE: www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/our_services/barbican_estate/history.htm] But according to the *Handbook of British Chronology*, a separate Earldom of Suffolk was not created until 16 March 1337, for Robert de Ufford (1298–1369) who was succeeded by his son William (1330–82), after which the title lay extinct for three years. [pp450/1] The first Brandon in the list, moreover, is Charles DUKE OF SUFFOLK (created 1 February 1514).

Robert de Ufford was rewarded for his part in the capture of Roger de Mortimer EARL OF MARCH (1330) with "the manors of Cawston and Fakenham in Norfolk, and also of *some houses in Cripplegate* that had belonged to Mortimer's associate, John Maltravers [1290?–1365]" before being created Earl of Suffolk in 1337. [DNB xx: 10 – emphases added] Properties in Cripplegate passing before 1337 to an ultimate Earl of Suffolk named Robert – appearing to accord nicely with all but the surname given in the data supplied by the City of London (16 March 1337 new style strictly citing 16 March 1336 old style).

Yet the Manor of Bas Court or Barbican may only have come to Charles Brandon through marriage to Katherine Willoughby, sole heir to William Eighth Lord Willoughby de Eresby (d 1526). At any rate, on the death of her second husband Richard Bertie (1582), when it passed to her sole surviving son Peregrine Bertie Ninth Lord Willoughby de Eresby and his wife Mary Vere, it was known as Willoughby House.

Among the many remarkable associations in this narrative, the house in which Edward de Vere's sister lived from 1577 through 1624 – Willoughby House – is revealed to have been adjacent to what appears to have been the city headquarters of the Order of the Garter – investiture into the Order occurring generally on St George's Day (23 April). The presiding Garter King of Arms from 1586 through 1603, moreover, proves to have been Sir William Dethick, the man assailed by York Herald Ralph Brooke in 1602 for raising 23 base persons to the peerage, including John the father of William Shakespeare (draughted 20 October 1596). His successor as Garter King, Sir William Segar, not only left a book concerned in part with Edward de Vere – *Honor, Military and Ciuil, contained in foure bookes* (1602), describing the five foremost tournaments of Elizabeth's reign: 1559; 1571; 1572; 1581; and 1581 (with prizes awarded to the Earl of Oxford for both the second and last tournaments) – but also compiled *Armes of the Knightes of the Noble Order of the Garter* (1591) while Somerset Herald (1589–93). And the man who built Garter House, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, was the uncle of the First Earl of Southampton (father of Charles Brandon's godson; and grandfather to Shakespeare's ostensible patron). Henry Wriothesley THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, who enjoyed particular favour from King James, was not pardoned for his part in the Essex Rebellion until 16 May 1603, nine days after the entrance of the King to the city – at Charterhouse (7 May); while William Dethick was knighted 13 May, less than a week after his arrival. Licencing of the Chamberlain's Men, by comparison, took until the 19th.

And to reiterate, Bernard Alsop, successor to Thomas Creede the most prolific printer of Shakespearean quartos, printed his sole Shakespearean quarto while resident at Garter Place – *The Famous Victories Of Henry The fifth*, second edition (1617; originally entered by Creede, 14 May 1594). Coincidentally, Sir William Dethick presented a "splendidly written and illuminated volume" entitled *A Booke of the Armes of the Noblemen in Henry the Fifts tyme*, to Queen Elizabeth (1 January 1589). [DNB v: 870]

It also bears noting that Christopher Barker (1529?–99) the Queen's Printer was the grand-nephew of Sir Christopher Barker Garter King of Arms (son of Sir Christopher's nephew and heir Edward Barker). First established as a publisher (1569) he enlisted Thomas Vautrollier as his printer to produce the first Geneva Bible printed in England (1575) – the same year that he undertook publication of two editions of George Gascoigne's *Glasse of Government* (printed by Henry Middleton, partner with Thomas East 1567–70). The following year Barker acquired his own press (the first of five: more than any other Elizabethan printer) and produced two different versions of the Bible – one revised by Laurence Tomson under-secretary to Barker's late master, Sir Francis Walsingham. His premises were at Bacon House, Noble Street (Foster Lane) Aldersgate, and Northumberland House, Aldersgate Street just within the gate – two blocks south of Barbican. NOTE: As his son Robert Barker is recorded as succeeding him at Bacon House [DNB i: 1116], I presume that it refers to the same location as that of the later imprint, Northumberland House. After the attainder and execution of Sir Thomas Percy (2 June 1537) his elder brother Henry Algernon SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND (1502?–37) voluntarily surrendered his estates, the title falling into abeyance at his death (29 June 1537) until a nephew, Thomas (1528–72) was restored as Seventh Earl (1 May 1557). [DNB xv: 878] Northumberland House may have reverted to Sir Nicholas Bacon sometime during this interval. The earliest Northumberland House identified by Brenan is that of Thomas's brother Henry Percy EIGHTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND ON St Andrew's Hill in Blackfriars next to the Gatehouse purchased later by William Shakspeare. [*A History of the House of Percy* VOL II, p19]

As if this weren't enough, Peregrine Bertie Ninth Lord Willoughby was sent to Denmark to present King Frederick II with his Garter (8 January 1582; although his itinerary is reported as 22 July – 27 September 1582), a mission which typically involved the Garter King (who lived next door) – eg, Sir Gilbert Dethick (dispatched to Denmark repeatedly by Henry VIII), accompanying William Parr MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON to France to invest Henry II with his Garter (20 June 1551); Sir William Dethick accompanying Gilbert Talbot SEVENTH EARL OF SHREWSBURY to France to present the Garter to Henry IV (10 October 1596); and Sir William Segar delivering the Garter to Christian IV of Denmark (8 Septem 1605).

The premises reserved for the College of Heralds on its incorporation (1483) are not identified, but when Queen Mary renewed its Charter (1555) the College moved to Derby House on Paul's Wharf Hill (very near where Thomas Creede had his shop on Thames St in 1593, and directly behind the house owned by Michael Hicks on Peter Lane which George Buc leased for the Office of the Revels in 1612 – the same property, arguably, leased by Edward de Vere from Julia Penn in 1591). Garter House having been built by a Garter King of Arms, it follows – given that the title Garter House prevailed until at least 1617 – that it remained the residence of successive Garter Kings. Another fetching association is presented by

the apposition of the residence of the Earl Marshal (Charterhouse) and Garter House – with the Office of the Revels adjacent (until 1607).

Originally a scrivener in the employ of Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Chamber Sir Thomas Heneage (*d* 17 October 1595), Sir William Segar was admitted to the College of Heralds (10 June 1585) just in time to accompany Robert Dudley EARL OF LEICESTER and a complement of players to Utrecht for the Festival of St George (23 April 1586). Heneage was the second husband of Mary Browne (widow of Henry Wriothesley SECOND EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON) who was responsible for backdating the receipt for a payment to the Chamberlain's Men – "Willm Kempe Willm Shakespeare and Richard Burbage" – which appears not to have been made; ostensibly the earliest reference to Shakespeare as a member of the troupe (1596 for 15 March 1595).

Note that after Leicester's death (4 September 1588) his troupe of five men and six apprentices – George Brayne or Bryan, John Heminge, Will Kempe, Augustine Phillips and Thomas Pope – merged with Strange's Men to form a new company under the patronage of Ferdinando Stanley Lord Strange; while Bryan, Kemp and Pope also turn up among the six English "instrumentists" – George Bryan, Thomas Bull, Will Kemp, Thomas King, Robert Percy, Thomas Pope and Thomas Stevens – who presumably continued on to entertain at Elsinore three months after the festivities at Utrecht (August/September 1586).

A gala occasion perfectly suited to the adoption of a disguise for one who lacked royal dispensation to travel so soon after his 'appointment' as unofficial Minister of Entertainment – particularly with the increasing pregnancy of the Spanish threat – the festivities celebrating completion of the King's regal new residence at Elsinore, Krönborg Castle.

If the College of Heralds shared complicity in covering the identity of William Shakespeare, as it appears, the presiding authority directing the deception had to be the Earl Marshal: Thomas Howard FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK (1554–72); George Talbot SIXTH EARL OF SHREWSBURY (1572–90); commission including William Cecil Lord Burghley, Charles Howard Lord Effingham, Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst (1590–7); [Robert Radcliffe FIFTH EARL OF SUSSEX acting Earl Marshal during Parliament, autumn 1597]; Robert Devereux SECOND EARL OF ESSEX (1597–1601); [Robert Radcliffe FIFTH EARL OF SUSSEX again acting Earl Marshal during Parliament, autumn 1601]; and a commission comprised of Charles Howard, Thomas Sackville and Edward Somerset FOURTH EARL OF WORCESTER (1601–4) renewed by James with the addition of Thomas Howard EARL OF SUFFOLK (4 February 1604).

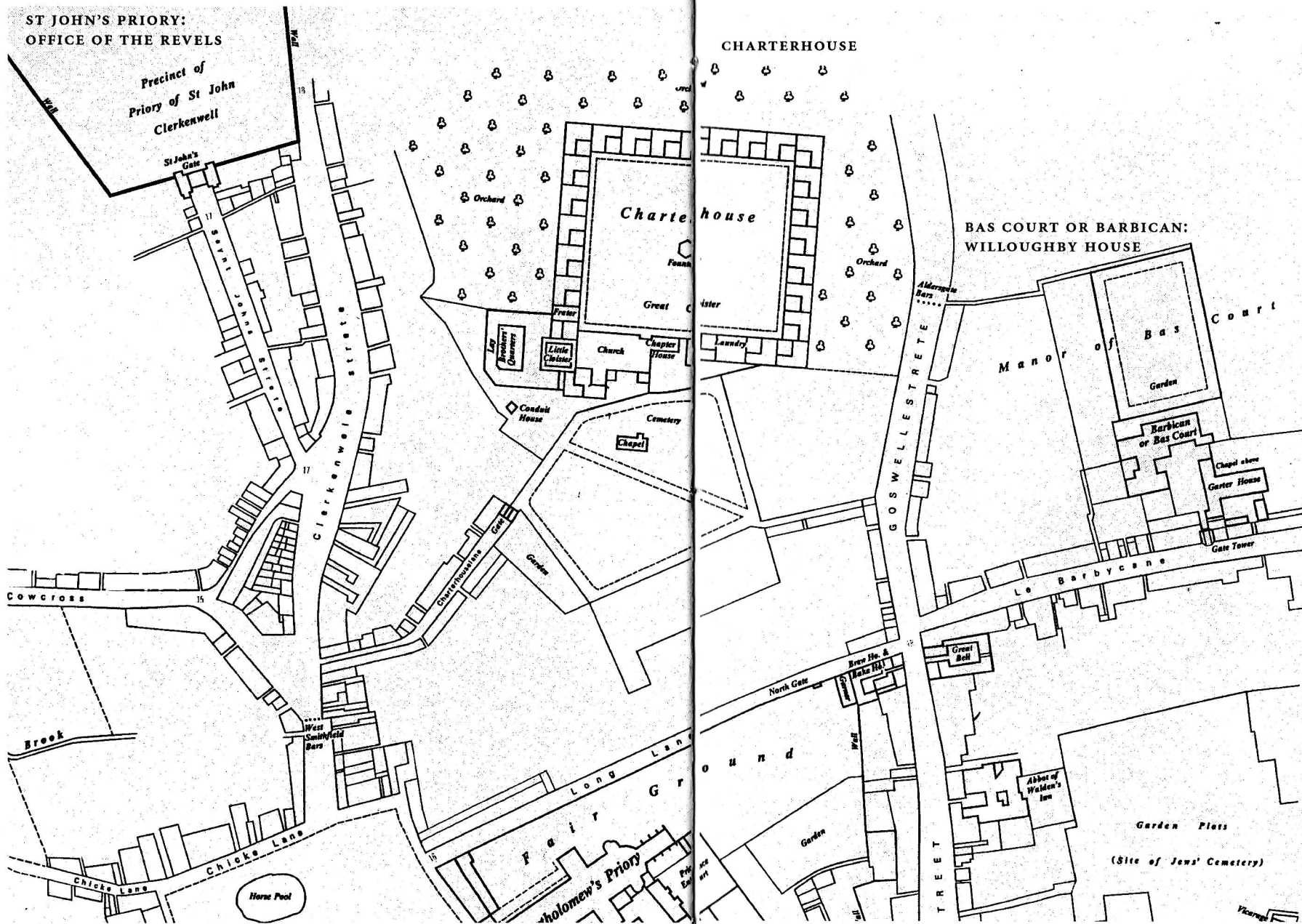
Given that George Talbot's mother was Mary Dacre (making him a cousin to the three daughters-in-law of Thomas Howard FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK) and that Thomas Sackville's brother had married the daughter of the Duke, the prevailing influence within the College of Heralds but for four years, was the indomitable Howard clan. Robert Radcliffe's father Henry FIFTH EARL OF SUSSEX (and *his* elder brother

Thomas Radcliffe THIRD EARL OF SUSSEX – who had married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley FIRST EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON), it bears remembering, was the son of Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard SECOND DUKE OF NORFOLK.

Note that during the period when the name Shakespeare is introduced, the presiding authority at the College is the commission comprised of William Cecil, Charles Howard and Thomas Sackville; and when it first appears on a play, Robert Devereux.

Furthermore, the transcript of the Parish Register for Stratford-on-Avon which has come down to us, was made about this time (1600/1) according to Chambers, likely by Vicar Richard Byfield – our sole source for the baptismal date of William Shaksper (26 April 1564). While during the same period Sir Fulke Greville – whose grandmother was the granddaughter of Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke – was both Member of Parliament for Warwickshire (1601) and Recorder for the town of Stratford-on-Avon.

It is also worth pointing out that both the grant of the Barbican (1336) and the establishment of the Order of the Garter (1348) were effected by Edward III – a coincidence (given that the Barbican and Garter House share enclosed grounds) which may serve to compound the significance of the other conjunctions.



CHRONOLOGICAL INVENTORY OF SHAKESPEARE PUBLICATIONS

1591

- 1 *The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England*. [] for Sampson Clarke. (Q1) [TSA 4]
- 2 *The Second Part of the troublesome Raigne of King Iohn*. [] for Sampson Clarke. (Q1) [TSA 5]

1592

- 3 *The Lamentable And Trve Tragedie of M. Arden Of Feversham In Kent*. (3 April) [] for Edward White. (Q1) [TSA 29] [TSAB 1]

1593

- 4 *Venus and Adonis*. (18 April) Richard Field [for John Harrison]. (Q1)

1594

- 5 *The Most Lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus*. (6 Feb) Iohn Danter for Edward White & Thomas Millington. (Q1)
 - 6 *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*. (12 March) Thomas Creed for Thomas Millington. [Henry VI PART II] One of Pollard's so-called 'bad quartos'. (Q1) [TSA 6]
 - 7 *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The taming of a Shrew*. (2 May) Peter Short for Cutbert Burbie. (Q1)
 - 8 *Lucrece*. (9 May) Richard Field for John Harrison. (Q1)
[*The Famovs Victories of Henry the fifth* registered 14 May by Thomas Creede who waited until 1598 to print it.]
[*The True Chronicle History of King Leir* registered 14 May – printed 1605.]
 - 9 *The true Tragedie of Richard the Third*. (19 June) Thomas Creede for William Barley. (Q1) [TSA 40]
 - 10 *Venus and Adonis*. Richard Field [for John Harrison]. (Q2)
[*Venus and Adonis* transferred to John Harrison, 25 June.]
[*Locrine* entered 20 July.]
- ## 1595
- 11 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus*. [] for William Iones. (Q1) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]
 - 12 *The Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine. Newly set foorth, ouerseene and corrected*, by VV.S. (entered 20 July 1594). Thomas Creede for []. (Q1) [TSA 24] [TSAB II]

- 13 *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke*. Peter Short for Thomas Millington. [Henry VI PART III] One of Pollard's so-called 'bad quartos'. (Q1) [TSA 7]
- 14 *Venus and Adonis*. Richard Field for Iohn Harrison. (OCTAVO 1)
[*Venus and Adonis* transferred to William Leake, 25 June.]
[“Cutbert Burby Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the wardens A booke Intitled *Edward the Third and the Blacke Prince their warres with kinge John of Fraunce*.” 1 December.] [TSA 27] [TSAB III]

1596

- 15 *The Raigne of King Edvardd the third*. (entered 1 December 1595) [] for Cuthbert Burby. (Q1) [TSA 27] [TSAB III]
- 16 *Venus and Adonis*. R[ichard] F[ield] for Iohn Harison. (OCTAVO 2: Jaggard gives it as 16°)
- 17 *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The taming of a Shrew*. P[eter] S[hort] for Cuthbert Burbie. (Q2)

1597

- 18 *The Tragedie of King Richard the second*. (29 August by Andrew Wise) Valentine Simmes for Androw [sic] Wise. Omitting the deposition scene. (Q1)
- 19 *The Tragedy Of King Richard the third*. (20 October by Andrew Wise; Jaggard gives 29 August) Valentine Sims for Andrew Wise. (Q1)
- 20 *An Excellent conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet*. Iohn Danter for []. One of Pollard's so-called 'bad quartos'. (Q1)

1598

- 21 *The History of Henrie the Fovrth*. (25 February by Andrew Wyse) P[eter] S[hort] for Andrew Wise. (Q1)
- 22 *The Famovs Victories of Henry the fifth: Containing the Honourable Battell of Agin-court: As it was plaide by the Queenes Maiesties Players*. London Printed by Thomas Creede, 1598. (entered 14 May 1594) (Q1)
- 23 *A Pleasant Conceited Comedie Called, Loues labors lost*. Newly corrected and augmented By W. Shakespere. William White for Cutbert Burby. The first appearance of the name Shakespe[a]re attached to a printed play. (Q1)
[“the Marchaunt of Venyce, or otherwise called the Jewe of Venyce” entered by James Roberts, 22 July.]
- 24 *Lucrece*. P[eter] S[hort] for Iohn Harrison. (OCTAVO 1)

- 25 *The Tragedie of King Richard the second*. By William Shake-speare. Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise. Omitting the deposition scene. (Q2: first with attribution of authorship to Shakespeare).
- 26 *The Tragedie of King Richard the second*. By William Shake-speare. Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise. Omitting the deposition scene. (Q3)
- 27 *The Tragedie of King Richard the third*. By William Shake-speare. Thomas Creede for Andrew Wise. (Q2: first to attribute authorship to Shakespeare)
- 28 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus*. [] for William Iones. No entry recorded until 17 September 1618, when it is assigned to John Wright by William's widow Sara Jones. (Q2) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

1599

- 29 *The Passionate Pilgrime* [and, *Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke*: second title on c3]. By W. Shakespeare. [Thomas Judson] for William Jaggard. Twenty short poems, numbered i-xxi; including poems by Ignoto, Richard Barnefield, Bartholomew Griffin, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Deloney, et al. (OCTAVO 1: Jaggard gives 16°)
- 30 *A Warning for Fair Women*. (Q1) [TSA 34]
- 31 *The pinder of Wakefield, being the merry history of George-à-Greene*. (Q1) [TSA 31]
- 32 *The Lamentable And Trve Tragedie of Arden Of Feversham In Kent*. [] for Edward White. (Q2) [TSA 29] [TSAB I]
- 33 *Venus and Adonis*. [Peter Short] for William Leake. (OCTAVO 3: Jaggard conjectures that William Jaggard was printer)
- 34 *Venus and Adonis*. [Richard Bradocke] for William Leake. (OCTAVO 4)
- 35 *The Raigne of King Edward the third*. Simon Stafford for Cuthbert Burby. (Q2) [TSA 27] [TSAB III]
- 36 *The Most Excellent and lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended*. Thomas Creede for Cuthbert Burby. (Q2: first with the prologue)
- 37 *The History Of Henrie The Fovrth*. "Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare". S[imon] S[tafford] for Andrew Wise. (Q2: first with Shakespeare's name)

1600

- ["Eleazar Edgar Entred for his cople vnder the handes of the Wardens. A booke called Amours by J.D. with certen oy^r sonnetes by W.S." 3 January.]
- 38 *Edward IV*. 1600. (Q1) [TSA 28]

- 39 *The Cronicle History of Henry the fift*. Thomas Creede, for Thomas Millington and Iohn Busby. One of the so-called 'bad quartos'. (Q1)
["As you like yt, a booke / Henry the fffift, a booke / Every man in his humour, a booke / The Commedie of muche A doo about nothing a booke / to be staid" in the Stationers' Register. 4 August.]
- 40 *The first part Of the true and honorable historie, of the life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham*. (11 August) V[alentine] S[immes] for Thomas Pauier. (Q1) [TSA 1] [TSAB V]
[*The historie of Henry the Vth with the battell of Agencourt* "formerlye printed and sett over to the sayd Thomas Pavyer". 14 August.]
- 41 *Much adoe about Nothing*. Written by William Shakespeare. (entered 23 August by Andrew Wyse and William Aspley: "*Muche a Doo about nothinge*... Wrytten by master Shakespere" – the first play on the registers to mention Shakespeare's name; Jaggard gives 14 August as date of entry) V[alentine] S[immes] for Andrew Wise and William Aspley. (Q1)
- 42 *The Second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift*. Written by William Shakespeare. (entered by Andrew Wyse and William Aspley, 23 August) V[alentine] S[immes] for Andrew Wise and William Aspley. (Q1)
- 43 *A Midsommer nights dreame*. Written by William Shakespeare. (entered by Thomas Fysshier as "A mydsommer nightes Dreame" 8 October) [James Roberts] for Thomas Fisher. (Q1)
- 44 *The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice*. Written by William Shakespeare. (entered 22 July 1598 by James Roberts; and again 28 October 1600 by Thomas Haies, father-in-law of Roberts) James Roberts for Thomas Heyes. (Q1)
- 45 *The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus*. I[ames] R[oberts] for Edward White. (Q2)
- 46 *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster: With the death of the good Duke Humphrey and the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke and the Tragical end of the prowd Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Iacke Cade: And the Duke of Yorkes first clayme to the Crowne*. Valentine Simmes for Thomas Millington. [Henry VI PART II] (Q2) [TSA 6]
- 47 *Lucrece*. I. H. for John Harrison. (OCTAVO 2: Jaggard gives it as 24°)
- 48 *Lucrece*. I. H. for John Harrison. (OCTAVO 3)
- 49 *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt: With the Whole Contention between the two Houses, Lancaster and Yorke*. W[illiam] W[hite] for Thomas Millington. [Henry VI PART III] (Q2) [TSA 7]

- 50 *A most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedie of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the merrie Wiues of Windsor.* By William Shakespeare. (entered 18 January by John Busbye as "An excellent and pleasant conceited commedie of Sir Iohn Faulstof and the merry wyves of Windesor" and directly assigned to Arthur Johnson as "A booke Called an excellent and pleasant conceyted Comedie of Sir John Faulstafe and the merye wyves of Windsor") T[homas] C[reede] for Arthur Iohnson. One of Pollard's so-called 'bad quartos'. (Q1) [TSA 36]

[*"The firste and Second parte of Henry the vij^t ij bookes"* and "A booke called *Titus and Andronicus*" assigned to Thomas Pavier by Thomas Millington. 19 April.]

[*"A booke called the Revenge of Hamlett Prince Denmarke as yt was latelie Acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servantes"* entered in the Stationers' Register by "James Robertes". 26 July.]

- 51 *The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell.* Written by W. S. (entered 11 August by William Cotton) Richard Read for William Iones. (Q1) [TSA 23] [TSAB VI]
- 52 *Venus and Adonis.* [Richard Bradocke for William Leake]. (OCTAVO 5: Jaggard ascribing it to John Harrison, 1600, because the sole surviving copy lacks the title-page)
- 53 *Venus and Adonis.* [Robert Raworth] for William Leake. (OCTAVO 6: Jaggard conjectures William Jaggard was printer, describing it 16°) NOTE: Raworth was made free of the Stationers' Company in 1606 printing only until 1608. The abnormal interval between the reprints of 1602 and the next dated issue (1617) leads to speculation that some of the octavos of 1602 may have been backdated.
- 54 *Venus and Adonis.* [Humphrey Lownes] for William Leake. (OCTAVO 7: Jaggard describes it 16°)
- 55 *Venus and Adonis.* [] for William Leake. (OCTAVO 8: perhaps the octavo Jaggard ascribes doubtfully to John Norton)
- [*The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke.* Re-entered 19 April, assigned to Thomas Pavier by Thomas Millington.] [Henry VI PART III] [TSA 7]
- 56 *The Tragedie of King Richard the third.* Thomas Creede for Andrew Wise. (Q3)
- 57 *The Chronicle History of Henry the fift.* Thomas Creede for Thomas Pauier. (Q2)

[*"Master Robertes. Entered for his copie in full Court holden this day to print when he hath gotten sufficient aucthority for yt, The booke of Troilus and Cressida as yt is acted by my lord Chamberlens Men"*. 7 February.]

- 58 *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* By William Shakespeare. (entered 26 July 1602 by James Roberts) [Valentine Simmes] for Nicholas Ling and Iohn Trundell. The last of Pollard's six so-called 'bad quartos' of Shakespeare's plays. Four allusions among Elizabethan writers, however, refer to a version extant prior to 1598. The only edition with the Lord Chamberlain named Corambis – resounding the motto of William Cecil, "*Cor unum, via una*". (Q1)
- [*"Entred for his copies...ffyyve copies folowinge...viz iij enterludes or plays. The ffirst is of Richard the .3. The second of Richard the .2. The Third of Henry the .4 the first parte. all kinges...all whiche by consent of the Company are sett ouer to [Mathew Lawe] from Andrew Wyse"*. 25 June.]

- 59 *The History of Henrie the fourth.* "Newly corrected by W. Shakespeare". Valentine Simmes for Mathew Law. (Q3)
- 60 *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke.* By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie. James Roberts for Nicholas Ling. Issued with "head-title, under ornament with royal arms" – appearing almost simultaneously with the coronation procession of James I through the city of London. Second edition, expanded and corrected – with Corambis renamed Polonius, and Reynaldo, Montano. (Q2) NOTE: the second state bearing title-page of 1605 incorporates variant readings according to H. H. Furness.
- 61 *The Passionate Pilgrime.* By W. Shakespeare. for William Jaggard. (OCTAVO 2: Jaggard gives 16°) LOST
- [*Julius Cæsar*...by William Alexander of Menstrie. [Valentine Simmes for]. Fcp 4°. Dramatic poem. (Q1)]

- 62 *The True Chronicle History of King Leir, and his three daughters, Gonorill, Ragan, and Cordella.* (entered 14 May 1594 and again 8 May 1605) Simon Stafford for Iohn Wright. Considered a precursor to Shakespeare's *King Lear*. (Q1) [TSA 30]
- 63 *A Pleasant Commedie, of faire Em the Millers daughter of Manchester: VVith the loue of William the Conqueror.* [] for T. N. and I[ohn] W[right]. "The library of King Charles II contained a copy bound

up with *Mucedorus* [and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*] and lettered 'Shakespeare, VOL 1'. [Jaggard] (Q1) [TSA 20] [TSAB XI]

- 64 *The London Prodigall*. By VVilliam Shakespeare. T[homas] C[reede] for Nathaniel Butter. (Q1) [TSA 2] [TSAB VII]
- 65 *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift*. Written by William Shakespeare. [] for Mathew Lawe. (Q2)
- 66 *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second*. [] for Thomas Fisher. (Q4)
- 67 *The Tragedie of King Richard the third*. Thomas Creede for Mathew Lawe. (Q4)

1606

[*The Taming of a Shrew* re-entered by Nicholas Ling, 22 January.]

- 68 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus*. [] for William Iones. (Q3) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

1607

[*Romeo and Juliet*; *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The taming of a Shrew*; *Loues Labour Lost*; assigned by Cuthbert Burby to Nicholas Ling. 22 January.]

- 69 *The Pvirtaine, or the VViddovv of Watling-streete*. Written by W. S. (6 August) George Elde for []. (Q1) [TSA 22] [TSAB VIII]
- 70 *A Pleasaunt Conceited Historie, called The Taming of a Shrew*. V[alentine] S[immes] for Nicholas Ling. (Q3)
- 71 *Lucrece*. N[icholas] O[kes] for Iohn Harrison. (OCTAVO 4)
- [“Arthur Iohnson. Entred for his copie under thandes of Sir George Buck knight and the Wardens a plaie called *the Merry devill of Edmonton*”. 22 October.]
- [“A booke called *Hamlett*; *Romeo and Juliet*; *Loues Labour Lost*” and *The Taming of a Shrew* re-entered by John Smythick – “Whiche dyd belonge to Nicholas Lynge”. 19 November.]
- [“Nathanæl Butter, John Busby. Entred for their copie under thandes of Sir George Buck knight ann Thwardens A booke called Master William Sh. his historye of *Kinge Lear*, as yt was played before the Kinges maiestie at Whitehall vpon Sainct Stephens night at Christmas Last, by his maiesties servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bank-syde.” 26 November.]
- [*The tragedy of Ivliivs Cæsar*...by W. Alexander. Dramatic poem. (Q2)]

1608

- 72 *A Yorkshire Tragedy*. VVritten by VV. Shakspeare. (entered 2 May by Thomas “Pavyer”, as a play “by Wylliam Shakespere”) Richard Bonian for Thomas Pauier. (Q1) [TSA 3] [TSAB IX]
- [*The Painfull Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre. Being the true History of the Play of Pericles, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient Poet, John Gower*. London: Printed by T[homas] P[urfoot, junior] for Nat. Butter. Fcp 4°: 40 leaves. By George Wilkins (prose).]
- [“Edward Blount. Entred for his copie vnder thandes of Sir George Buck knight and Master Warden Seton A booke called. *The booke of Pericles prynce of Tyre*. Entred also for his copie by the like Auctoritie. A booke called *Anthony. and Cleopatra*.” 20 May.]
- 73 *The Merry Devill of Edmonton*. (entered 22 October 1607 by Arthur Johnson) Henry Ballard for Arthur Iohnson. Included in a volume bound for Charles II as the works of “Shakespeare. VOL 1”. (Q1) [TSA 10] [TSAB X]
- 74 *M. William Shak-speare: His True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters*. (entered 26 November 1607 by Nathanæl Butter and John Busby) [Nicholas Okes] for Nathaniel Butter. Two variant states of the text and title-page, extant. (Q1)
- 75 *The Tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath been publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants*. By William Shake-speare. London, Printed by W[illiam] W[hite] for Matthew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. Expanded edition, first with the deposition scene (1v.i.154–318), no longer contentious once the succession had been resolved. (Q5)
- 76 *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second: With new additions of the Parliamt Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard, As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Majesties seruants, at the Globe*. By William Shake-speare. At London, Printed by W[illiam] W[hite] for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. Expanded edition, cancel title-page. (Q5: second state)
- 77 *The History of Henry the Fourth*. “Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare”. [] for Mathew Law. (Q4)
- [*Hystorie of Hamblett*. London: Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pauier and are to be sold at his shop in Corne-hill, neere to the Royall Exchange, 1608. Fcp 4°: 34 leaves. Translated from the third *Histoire* of François de Belleforest.]

1609

- 78 *The late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre.* By William Shakespeare. (entered 20 May 1608 by Edward Blount) William White for Henry Gosson. Not included in the Folio until 1663. (Q1)
- 79 *The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida.* Written by William Shakespeare. (entered 7 February 1603 by James Roberts; and 28 January 1609 by Richard Bonion and Henry Walleys). G[eorge] Eld for R[ichard] Bonian and H[enry] Walley. Two variants. (Q1: first issue)
- 80 *The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid.* Written by William Shakespeare. G[eorge] Eld for R[ichard] Bonian and H[enry] Walley. (Q1: second issue, adding prefatory epistle)
- 81 *Shake-speares Sonnets.* (20 May) George Eld for Thomas Thorpe to be solde by [a] Iohn Wright, dwelling at Christ Church gate (rarer); [b] William Aspley. Including an enigmatic preface to Mr W. H. signed T. T. (Q1)
[*The Raigne of King Edward the third.* copyright transferred by Mrs Cuthbert Burby to William Welby. 16 October.] [TSA 27] [TSAB III]
- 82 *The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publiqely Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. Newly corrected, augmented and amended.* London Printed [by] for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleete streete vnder the Dyall. (Q3)
- 83 *The late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre.* By William Shakespeare. (Q2)

1610

- 84 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus, the Kings sonne of Valentia and Amadine the Kings daughter of Arragon, with the merie Conceites of Mouse. Amplified with new additions.* [] for William Iones. The first edition with the additions critically accepted as possibly Shakespeare's. (Q4) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

1611

- 85 *The First and Second Part of the Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England.* Written by W. Sh. Valentine Simmes for Iohn Helme. First combined edition, and first to attribute authorship to Shakespeare. (Q1: first combined edition) [TSA 4]
- 86 *The most Lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus.* [Edward Allde] for Eedward White. (Q3)
- 87 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus.* [] for William Jones. (Q5) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

- 88 *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke.* By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was according to the true and perfect Coppy. At London, Printed [by] for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Saint Dunstons Church yeard in Fleetstreet. Vnder the Diall. 1611. (Q3)
- 89 *The Late And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre.* By William Shakespeare. S[imon] S[tafford] for []. (Q3)
[*The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell.* assigned by William Jones to John Browne. 16 December.] [TSA 23] [TSAB VI]

1612

- 90 *The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publiqely Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe.* Written by W. Shake-speare. Newly corrected, augmented and amended. London Printed [by] for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleete streete vnder the Dyall. (Q4: not dated; incorporating Smethwick's device of 1612-37)
- 91 *The Passionate Pilgrime. Or Certaine Amorous Sonnets, betweene Venus and Adonis, newly corrected and augmented.* By W. Shakespeare. *The third Edition. Where-vnto is newly added two Loue-Epistles, the first from Paris to Hellen, and Hellens answers backe againe to Paris.* W[illiam] Iaggard. Two variant issues, one without Shakespeare's name on the title-page. (third edition: 16^o)
- 92 *The Tragedie of King Richard The Third.* Thomas Creede for Mathew Lawe. (Q5)
- 93 *The Merry Diuel of Edmonton.* [] for A[rthur] Iohnson. Included in a volume bound for Charles II as the works of "Shakespeare. vol 1". (Q2) [TSA 10] [TSAB X]

1613

- 94 *The History of Henrie the fourth.* "Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare". W[illiam] W[hite? Welby? Wright?] for Mathew Law. (Q5)
- 95 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus.* [] for William Iones. (Q6) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]
- 96 *The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell.* Written by W. S. Thomas Snodham for []. (Q2) [TSA 23] [TSAB VI]

1614

[*Lucrece* transferred to Roger Jackson, 1 March.]

1615

- 97 *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second: With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard.* As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Maiesties seruants, at the Globe. By William Shake-speare. At London, Printed for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. (Q6)
- 98 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus.* N[icholas] O[kes] for W[illiam] Iones. (Q7) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

1616

- 99 *Rape of Lucrece.* By Mr William Shakespeare. Newly reuised. Printed by T[homas] S[nodham] for Roger Iackson. (OCTAVO 5)

1617

[*Venus and Adonis* transferred to William Barrett, 16 February.]

- 100 *Venus and Adonis.* [William Stansby] for W[illiam] B[arrett]. (OCTAVO 9)
- 101 *The Famous Victories Of Henry The fifth. Containing the Honourable Battell of Agin-covrt. As it was Acted by the Kinges Maiesties Seruants.* London Imprinted by Barnard Alsop, dwelling in Garter place in Barbican. 1617. (Q2: first state) NOTE: a second state bears the imprint, Imprinted by Barnard Alsop and are to be sold by Tymothie Barlow at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the Bull-Head.
- 102 *The Merry Diuel of Edmonton.* G. Eld for A[rthur] Johnson. Included in a volume bound for Charles II as the works of "Shakespeare. VOL I". (Q3) [TSA 10] [TSAB X]

1618

[*The Raigne of King Edward the third.* Copyright transferred by William Welby to Thomas Snodham. 2 March.] [TSA 27] [TSAB III]

[*A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus.* assigned to John Wright by Sara widow of William Jones. 17 September.] [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

- 103 *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus.* [] for John Wright. (Q8) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

1619

- 104 *The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King Henrie the sixth. Diuided into two Parts: And newly corrected and enlarged.* Written by William Shake-speare, Gent. [Isaac Jaggard?] for T[homas] P[avier]. With *The late, And much admired Play called Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, of the same issue, having continuous signatures following on those of *The Whole Contention*,

suggesting the three plays were to be issued together. [*King Henry VI PARTS II & III*] (Q3: first combined edition) [TSA 6] [TSA 7]

- 105 *The Chronicle History of Henry the fifth.* [Isaac Jaggard?] for T[homas] P[avier]. (Q3: dated 1608)
- 106 *The first part Of the true & honorable history, of the Life of Sir Iohn Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham.* Written by William Shakespeare. Printed [by Isaac Jaggard?] for T[homas] P[avier]. (Q2: dated 1600) [TSA 1] [TSAB V]
- 107 *A Midsommer nights dreame.* As it hath beene sundry times publicly acted, by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. VVritten by VVilliam Shakespeare. Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600 [ie, 1619: Isaac Jaggard?]. (Q2)
- 108 *The excellent History of the Merchant of Venice.* Written by W. Shake-speare. Printed by J. Roberts, 1600 [ie, 1619: Isaac Jaggard?]. (Q2)
[*The excellent History of the Merchant of Venice.* Re-entered by Laurence Hayes "which were the Copies of Thomas Haies his fathers". 8 July.]
- 109 *A Most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedy, of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the merry Wiues of Windsor. With the swaggering vaine of Ancient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym.* Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed [by Isaac Jaggard?] for Arthur Johnson, 1619. (Q2) [TSA 36]
- 110 *A Yorkshire tragedie.* VVritten by VV. Shakspeare. [Isaac Jaggard?] for Thomas Pauier. (Q2) [TSA 3] [TSAB IX]
- 111 *M. VVilliam Shake-speare: His True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters.* Printed [by Isaac Jaggard?] for Nathaniel Butter. 1608 [ie, 1619]. (Q2)
- 112 *The Late, And much admired Play Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre.* Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed [by Isaac Jaggard?] for T[homas] P[avier]. (Q4)
- 113 *A Most Pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus.* [] for Iohn Wright. (Q9) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]

1620

Eine sehr klägliche Tragædia von Tito Andronico und der hoffertigen Kayserin [in] *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*, 1620: Germany.

- 114 *Venus and Adonis.* for I[ohn] P[arker]. (OCTAVO 10: not recorded by Chambers; given by Jaggard as 18° ?)

1621

- 115 *A most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus..* (Q10) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]
[*"Thomas Walkley. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of Sir George Buck, and Master Swinhoe warden. The Tragedie of Othello, the moore of Venice."* 6 October.]

- 116 *The Tragædy of Othello, The Moore of Venice*. Written by William Shakespeare. (entered 6 October 1621 by Thomas Walkley) N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Walkley. Including an address from the publisher, headed: "The stationer to the reader". Variant text to that in the Folio. The only quarto edition of a Shakespeare play divided into acts (or scenes). (Q1)
- 117 *The First and second Part of the troublesome Raigne of John, King of England*. Aug. Mathewes for Thomas Dewe. (Q2) [TSA 4]
- 118 *The Tragedie Of King Richard The Third*. Thomas Purfoot for Mathew Law. (Q6)
- 119 *The History of Henrie the Fovrth*. T[homas] P[urfoot] for Mathew Law. (Q6)

- 120 *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies Published according to the True Originall Copies*. (entered 8 November by "Mr Blounte and Isaack Jaggard...for their Copie vnder the hands of Mr Doctor [Thomas] Worrall and Mr Cole, warden..."). Isaac Jaggard for Ed. Blount. [colophon: "Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623."] (F1) [FIRST PRINTINGS OF: *All's Well that Ends Well*; *Antony & Cleopatra*; *As You Like It*; *The Comedy of Errors*; *Coriolanus*; *Cymbeline*; *Henry VI PART I*; *Henry VIII*; *Julius Caesar*; *King John*; *Macbeth*; *Measure for Measure*; *The Taming of the Shrew*; *The Tempest*; *Timon of Athens*; *Twelfth Night*; *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*; and *The Winter's Tale*. (18)]

- [*"Titus and Audconmus"* and 127 other ballads entered "at a full Court holden 6^o Novembris" for "Master Pavier John Wright Cutbert: Wright Edward. Wright John Grismond Henry Gosson". 14 December.]
- [*History of King Henry the fourth*. MSS of 55 leaves folio "presumably in the holograph of Sir Edward Deryng" (1598–1644) – author of *Godly private prayers*, 1624: Isaac Jaggard – the earliest manuscript of any of Shakespeare's dramatic works, incorporating unique alterations. William Jaggard dates it "c. 1610".]
- 121 *The Tragedie Of King Richard The Third*. Thomas Purfoot for []. (Q7)
- 122 *Rape of Lucrece*. By Mr William Shakespeare. Newly reuised. Printed by I[ohn] B[cale] for Roger Jackson. (OCTAVO 6)

- 123 *A most pleasant Comedy of Mucedorus*. [] for Francis Coles. (Q11) [TSA 21] [TSAB IV]
- [*The Raigne of King Edward the third*. copyright transferred by Mrs Snodham to William Stansby. 23 February.] [TSA 27] [TSAB III]
- [*"Tytus and Andronicus"* and 17 other "Ballads" and "plaies" – including "Master Pavier's rights in Shakesperes plaies" – assigned by Thomas Pavier's widow to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde. 4 August.]

- 124 *Venus and Adonis*. Edinbvrgh. printed by Iohn Wreittoun and are to bee sold in his shop a little beneath the Salt Trone. (OCTAVO 11)
- [*"Thomas Cotes. Richard Cotes. Assigned ouer vnto him by Dorathye Jaggard and consent of a full court holden this day, all the estate, right, title, and interest which Isaacke Jaggard her late husband had in the copies following...her parte in Shacksphere's plays". June.]*

- 125 *The Tragedy of King Richard the third*. John Norton for Mathew Lawe. (Q8)

- [*"The Merry Wives of Winsor"* assigned by Arthur Johnson to Master Meighen, 29 January.]
- 126 *A Most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedy, of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the merry Wiues of Windsor. With the swaggering vaine of Ancient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym*. Written by W. Shakespeare. T.H. for R. Meighen. (Q3) [TSA 36]
- 127 *The Tragædy of Othello. The Moore of Venice*. Written by William Shakespeare. A[ugustine] M[athewes] for Richard Hawkins. (Q2)
- 128 *The late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. By William Shakespeare. I[ohn] N[orton] for R.B. (Q5: two issues)
- [*Pericles* and *Titus and Andronicus* are assigned by master Bird to Richard Cotes, 8 November.]

- 129 *A Wittie and pleasant Comedie Called The Taming of the Shrew. As it was acted by his Maiesties Seruants at the Blacke Friars and the Globe*. Written by Will. Shakespeare. W.S. for Iohn Smethwicke.
- (Q1: first separate edition of the version credited to Shakespeare; the fourth quarto over all – counting the three earlier editions of

The Taming of a Shrew) NOTE: Jaggard conjectures that the printer may have been William Sheares, yet the succeeding two entries point to the possibility that it was William Stansby.

- 130 *Loues Labours lost. A Wittie And Pleasant Comedie, As it was Acted by his Maiesties Seruants at the Blacke-Friers and the Globe.* Written by William Shake-speare. London, Printed by W. S. for Iohn Smethwicke. (Q2: the first separate edition of the Folio text)
- 131 *The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark.* Newly Imprinted and enlarged, according to the true and perfect Copy lastly Printed. By William Shakespeare. Printed by W[illiam] S[tansby] for Iohn Smethwicke and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstons Church-yard in Fleetstreet. Vnder the Diall. [nd] (Q4: printed sometime between 1611 and 1637)

1632

- 132 *M^r. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Originall Copies. The second Impression.* London, Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard. 1632. [COLOPHON: "Printed at London by Thomas Cotes, for John Smethwick, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, Richard Meighen, and Robert Allot, 1632"] Folio: 488 leaves. Second Folio. Six variant title-pages recorded; with two subsequent issues on paper from 1637 and 1640 – likely issued from remainder sheets in 1641 at Cotes's death. (F2)
- 133 *Rape of Lucrece.* By Mr William Shakespeare. Newly reuised. (OCTAVO 7: Jaggard gives it as 12°)
- 134 *The History of Henrie the Fovrth.* Iohn Norton, sold by William Sheares. (Q7)
- 135 *The pinder of Wakefield, being the merry history of George-à-Greene, the lusty pinder of the north, briefly shewing his manhood and his brave merriments amongst his boone companions. A pill fit to purge melancholy in this drooping age. With the great battel fought betwixt him and Robin Hood, Scarlet and Little John, and after of his living with them in the woods. Full of pretty histories, songs, catches, jests, and riddles.* G[eorge] P[urslow?] for E. Blackamore in Paul's Church-yard at the Angell. (Q2) [TSA 31]

1633

- 136 *The Lamentable And Trve Tragedie of Arden Of Feversham In Kent.* Elizabeth Allde for []. (Q3) [TSA 29] [TSAB 1]

1634

- 137 *The Two Noble Kinsmen.* Written by the memorable Worthies of their time; Mr John Fletcher, and Mr William Shakspeare. Gent. (entered 8 April by Master John Waterson, as a tragi-comedy by John ffletcher and William Shakespeare) Tho[mas] Cotes for Iohn Waterson. (Q1) [TSA 9] [TSAB XII]
- 138 *The Tragedy of King Richard the third.* John Norton for []. (Q9)
- 139 *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second.* John Norton for []. (Q6)

1635

- 140 *The late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre.* By William Shakespeare. Thomas Cotes for []. (Q6)

1637

- 141 *The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publiqely Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe.* Written by W. Shake-speare. Newly corrected, augmented and amended. London Printed by R. Young for John Smethwicke, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleete streete vnder the Dyall. (Q5)
- 142 *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke.* By William Shakespeare. R. Young for John Smethwicke. (Q5)
- 143 *The excellent History of the Merchant of Venice.* Written by W. Shakespeare. M. P. for Laurence Hayes. (Q3)

1639

- 144 *The History of Henrie the Fovrth.* Iohn Norton, sold by Hugh Parry. (Q8)
- [*The Raigne of King Edward the third.* Copyright transferred by Mrs Stansby to George Bishop. 4 March.] [TSA 27] [TSAB III]
- ["John Benson Entred for his Copie vnder the hands of doctor Wykes and Master Fetherston warden An Addicion of some excellent Poems to Shakespeares Poems by other gentlemen. viz^t. His mistris drawne. and her mind by Benjamin: Johnson. An Epistle to Benjamin Johnson by Francis Beaumont. His Mistris shade. by R. Herrick. &c." 4 November.]

1640

- 145 *Poems:* VVritten by Wil. Shake-speare, Gent: Tho. Cotes for Iohn Benson, 1640. 8°: 192pp (entered 4 November 1639 by John Benson). Includes a portrait of the author engraved by William Marshall; a preface headed "To the reader"; 3pp of prefatory poems by L. Digges; a one-page prefatory poem by Iohn Warren; and at p163, "An addition

of some excellent poems to those precedent of renowned Sh-, by other gentlemen", including excerpts from Thomas Heywood's 'General history of women'; two signed B. I. [Ben Iohnson]; one signed F. B. [Francis Beaumont]; and one signed I. G. Also including verses by Leonard Digges and John Warren; the entire *Passionate Pilgrim* of 1612; *A Lover's Complaint*; the reply supposedly of Walter Raleigh, and another by Ignoto, to 'Come live with me and be my love' (ascribed to Christopher Marlowe, though included in Shakespeare's *Complete Works*, p1134; among 'Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music'); a song from *Measure for Measure*; *The Phœnix and the Turtle*; Orlando's verses from *As You Like It*; and three elegies by John Milton, William Basse and another. The appendix entitled 'An Addition of some Excellent Poems, to those precedent, of Renowned Shakespeare, By other Gentlemen' includes contributions by Thomas Carew, Richard Clarke, William Strode, as well as those mentioned above. Omitting *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. (OCTAVO 1)

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